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EDUCATIONAL THEORY AS REFLECTED IN THE PROPOSALS
OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENTS, 1789-1795

by

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and
recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance,
a thesis entitled "Educational Theory as Reflected in the
Proposals of the French Revolutionary Governments, 1789-1795",
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the proposals of prominent men in the French Revolutionary Governments and also the educational theory reflected in these proposals, with a view to providing information on the educational aspects of the period. In exploring data for the study, access was had to translations of French historical and pedagogical works. Commentaries by more recent authors on the events of the period under consideration were also used.

In the realm of cultural development the eighteenth century is generally known as the Age of Reason or the Age of Enlightenment. As a background to the study of the French Revolution the writer attempts in the first chapter to trace the influence of certain French philosophers on the course of events, men whom Lord Acton called "the heralds of the Revolution". The Revolution expressed itself in the broad conception of eighteenth century thought in which "man" was the fundamental reality.

The second chapter examines the system of education which existed in France prior to the Revolution, a system which was controlled by the King and delegated by him to the Church. Scholarly revolutionaries voiced discontent and called for an educational system which would be lay, universal and national.

Chapter III deals with some of the cahiers de doléances presented to the King at Versailles in May 1789 by the representatives of the three orders of the Estates-General. As was evidenced from many of the cahiers, demands for a national system of education were becoming insistent at this time.

The short-lived Estates-General gave way to the National Assembly which is dealt with in Chapter IV. The Old Régime was abolished. A Declaration of the Rights of Man was adopted. To prepare the people for their new privileges and responsibilities men such as Talleyrand called for a new system of education which would be dependent in its purpose and its administration upon the civil state.

Chapter V deals with the Legislative Assembly which marked a more radical phase in the Revolution proper. The general plans considered by this Assembly relative to educational reform show the changes in ideas, especially those of men like the Marquis de Condorcet who perceived no limit to the possibilities of further advancement, not only in the realm of the mind but also in the organization of society.

The powers of the Legislative Assembly were transmitted to the National Convention in an orderly legal manner. Historically the Convention is divided into three phases. Chapter VI deals with the first phase. Royalty was abolished. The Republic was threatened by domestic and foreign crises. Matters relative to educational reform were of necessity unattended.

The second phase of the Convention, the Reign of Terror, marked a sordid phase in the history of the Revolution. It was however a period of prolific legislation. In Chapter VII an attempt is made to consider the numerous bills and proposals regarding education which were presented to the government. That these things could be given consideration under the conditions that prevailed in France at that time is, in many respects, one of the most significant facts of the history of the period.

The Thermidorian Reaction marked the final phase of the Convention. A decided shift back to moderate political principles was perceived in this phase, as the writer proposes to show in Chapter VIII. The prevailing attitude towards education corresponded with the underlying bourgeois character of the political leadership, which in spite of glowing affirmation of its devotion to the principles of equality rallied instinctively in critical moments to the defence of its class interests.

In the final chapter the writer attempts a critical estimate of the work of the French Revolutionary Governments in matters relative to education. The virtual teaching monopoly of the Church was broken in the early days of the revolutionary struggle when lofty reform projects were drawn up for national education. Not until late in 1795, however, did the deputies finally attempt any reorganization of the educational system. At the elementary and secondary school levels, not much actual reorganization was completed during the revolutionary period proper. Such glories of nineteenth-century France as the Museum of the Louvre, the National Library and the National Archives were all established by the revolutionary state. The idea for the [/]École Polytechnique was proposed during the Terror; the Jardin du Roi was transformed into the remarkable research center of the Museum of Natural History. The years of political upheaval saw the work of many great men in the field of science and mathematics. The foundations of New France had been laid.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to reveal the proposals for educational reform which were presented to the French Revolutionary Governments, 1789-1795, and to investigate the action taken by these governments in this regard. These proposals will also be examined in the light of the philosophical thought and educational theory which they reflect, in order to formulate some opinions regarding the educational endeavours of their authors.

It is hoped that the study will have a two-fold value: first, to bring together the educational ideas of many revolutionary figures as well as other men of lesser note; second, to collect source material that would serve students interested in pursuing this area of study.

In providing material for this thesis the writer made use of source material such as translations of primary documents in whole or in part and commentaries by both contemporary and more recent writers on the subject. Difficulty was experienced in the collection of relevant data due to the fact that both contemporary and subsequent writers were almost wholly concerned with the political aspects of the period. Matters relating to education were in most cases overlooked.

Any adequate appreciation of the French Revolution depends upon more than a knowledge of the movement itself - it can only be understood in the light of the ages which preceded it. For this reason the writer felt it necessary to begin the study with an overview of the Age of Enlightenment in France and a review of the ideas which were diffused in that country by some of the philosophers.

Influencing the course of pre-revolutionary ideas in education were

many pedagogical writers. This influence will be examined in the light of their proposals for the immediate institution of a new efficient and reformed system of education. The virtual monopoly of the Church was broken in the early days of the revolutionary struggle when lofty reform projects were drawn up for national education.

In relation to the period under intensive study, the years 1789-1795, the writer found it practical to divide it on the basis of chronology, beginning with the Estates-General and following through with the National Constituent Assembly, the Legislative Assembly and finally the Convention. At the beginning of each chapter the writer proposes to give a short summary of the history of the period, followed by the proposals, reports, bills and decrees which were brought in. The relevant philosophical background and educational theory will also be examined.

As new social groups entered the political arena, new grievances, new emotions and new observations were released. The ideas regarding educational reform were perceived as relative to the principles expounded by the varied political factions. The writer investigated these ideas in relation to the cultural background of those influential men who called for reform measures.

Finally the writer assesses the work of the revolutionary governments. Though much pedagogical literature was written and many proposals presented, nothing worthy of note was actually accomplished until the closing month of the Convention. In the intellectual and artistic sphere it was the Convention which endowed France with some of its most famous institutions. Much of the work of educational reform accomplished by Napoleon was an extension of the work of the revolutionary governments. The Revolution outlasted the revolutionary era.

CHAPTER I

THE HERALDS OF THE REVOLUTION

The French Revolution was an attempt to put into effect certain basic beliefs common to most enlightened Frenchmen of the eighteenth century, and adequately epitomized in the revolutionary slogan, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity".¹ To understand the French Revolution is to begin to understand the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.² Yet, any adequate appreciation of the Revolution depends upon more than a knowledge of the movement itself, -- "it can only be comprehended by the light of the ages which preceded it."³

In the realm of cultural development the eighteenth century is generally known as the Age of Enlightenment or the Age of Reason. It was a period of intellectual quickening when men stressed reason as a guide to the solution of the problems of the universe and of man, "an attitude of which the origin is to be found in the works of two luminaries of the previous century, Isaac Newton and John Locke".⁴ Newton, the great English scientist "emancipated men from medieval supernaturalism and introduced them to the study of nature".⁵ Much influenced by Newtonianism, there

¹ John Hall Stewart, A Documentary Survey of The French Revolution (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), p. 3.

² Leo Gershoy, The Era of the French Revolution, 1789-1799 (New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1957), p. 3.

³ Alexis de Tocqueville, The Old Regime and the Revolution, translated from the French by John Bonner (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1856), p. 253.

⁴ Stewart, op. cit., p. 10.

⁵ Ibid., p. 11.

gradually developed a new philosophy which was essentially materialistic, that is, which tried to explain everything in the universe in terms of matter and motion and of forces which could be detected by the human senses.⁶

Like Newton, Locke furthered the process of emancipating mankind, but in a somewhat different manner. He developed a theory of government which was utterly opposed to the old doctrine of the divine right of kings. He provided not only a justification of the English revolutions of his own time, but a political ideology for posterity. His political philosophy affirmed that since all members of a society cannot govern, government must be delegated to a few. Relations between governors and governed are established in some form of contract involving mutual benefits and guarantees.⁷ The governed retain certain rights to "life, liberty and the ownership of property". Should the government violate these natural rights, then it no longer claims the allegiance of its subjects and may be legitimately overthrown.⁸

To the thinking people of the eighteenth century the ideas of Newton and Locke assumed a special significance but more especially in France, where the middle class was most numerous, most prosperous and most desirous of change.⁹ These new ideas were diffused in that country by a group of

⁶C. Hayes, M. Baldwin, C.Cole, History of Europe (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 652.

⁷Stewart, loc. cit.

⁸Hutton Webster, European History (London: D.C. Heath and Company, 1919), p. 862.

⁹Stewart, loc. cit.

thinkers usually referred to as the philosophers, "the heralds of the Revolution".¹⁰

Standing first in priority of time among the French political philosophers who flourished in the eighteenth century was Montesquieu.¹¹ A nobleman, lawyer, and judge, he spent twenty years in composing a single book The Spirit of the Laws, a classic in political science.¹² He attempted to show the relationship between the laws of a country and its social, political and economic structure, between constitution and climate. The British Constitution seemed to him most admirable as combining the virtues of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy.¹³ He insisted on the necessity of separating the executive, legislative and judicial functions of government, so that each branch could check and balance the other, in order to secure justice and to preserve the natural rights of man.¹⁴ Although denying the doctrine of the divine right of kings, he was not a revolutionist. He concluded that France was designed to be a monarchy, but a monarchy tempered by aristocratic institutions.¹⁵

A contemporary of Montesquieu and perhaps the most influential of

¹⁰ Lord Acton, Lectures on The French Revolution, cited by F.J.C. Hearnshaw, The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of The Age of Reason (London: George Harrap and Company Limited, 1930), p. 169.

¹¹ George H. Allen, The French Revolution, 4 V. (Philadelphia: George Barrie's Sons, 1922), V. 1, p. 133.

¹² Webster, op. cit., p. 863.

¹³ Allen, loc. cit.

¹⁴ Hayes, Baldwin, Cole, op. cit., p. 659.

¹⁵ Stewart, op. cit., p. 12.

the French philosophers of the eighteenth century was Voltaire. His infectious writing precipitated a crisis in men's minds. A pungent satirist, he attacked kings, tyrants, oppressors, priests, as the ultimate enemies of freedom of individual thought. His three years in England had a vital effect on him. He was immensely impressed by the freedom of social and political thought which he found in London.¹⁶ His own greatness and influence consisted more in his power of assimilating, interpreting and expressing clearly the thoughts of others than in originality of thought or speculation.¹⁷ His devastating Candide and other works poured destructive criticism on the Church and its clergy, thus undermining the whole system of French society,

Never did any reformer fight and vanquish, without appearing in the melee, more enemies who believed themselves invincible, more errors consecrated by time, more prejudices rooted in old beliefs.¹⁸

Though proposing no model constitution nor advocating constructive innovations, his propaganda became a formidable weapon.¹⁹

If Voltaire was the mind of the Revolution, Rousseau was its heart.²⁰ He felt only contempt for the boasted civilization of his age. Beginning with the assertion in The Social Contract, that "man was born free and is everywhere in chains", he pictured a purely ideal state of society in which

¹⁶Richard A. Alcock, World Literature (New York: Greystone Press, 1957), p. 108.

¹⁷Allen, op. cit., p. 141.

¹⁸E.L. Higgins, The French Revolution as told by Contemporaries (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1938), pp. 33-34.

¹⁹Allen, op. cit., p. 142.

²⁰Alcock, op. cit., p. 109.

the citizens are ruled neither by kings nor parliaments, but themselves make the laws directly. The only way to reform the world, according to Rousseau, was to restore the sovereignty of the people, with "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" for all.²¹ These magic words resounded far and wide. They loosed the tongue of the long-inarticulate multitude. The Social Contract became "the Bible of the Revolution and the Gospel of the Jacobins".²²

Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau were among the contributors to the famous Encyclopédie, a work in seventeen volumes which appeared after the middle of the eighteenth century.²³ The Encyclopédie formed not only a depository of all the scientific and historical knowledge of the age, but it served as an organ for the elaboration of new principles by those who wished to reform the existing social order. It was destined to serve "as an agency for the dissemination of new ideas and an arsenal for political argumentation in the rising storms of revolution".²⁴

The progress made in education in the eighteenth century was due in great part to the efforts of the philosophers of that age. Education was no longer the sole preoccupation of those engaged in pedagogical work; a great many of the illustrious thinkers of the time discussed educational reform. Beginning with the Émile, new outlooks and new concepts were born.²⁵

²¹Webster, op. cit., pp. 864-865.

²²Alcock, op. cit., p. 110.

²³Webster, op. cit., p. 865.

²⁴Allen, op. cit., p. 146.

²⁵Gabriel Compayré, The History of Pedagogy, translated by W.H. Payne (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1910), p. 310.

Diderot, chief editor of the *Encyclopédie*, is noted for his preparation of a complete scheme for the organization of a state system of public instruction for Russia, titled Plan of a University and submitted at the request of Her Imperial Majesty, Catherine II. Though the plan was never carried out, it was printed and much discussed in France and is important as coming from one of the most influential Frenchmen of his time.²⁶ "To educate a nation" according to Diderot,

is to civilize it. To suppress learning within its borders is to bring it back to its primitive state of barbarity... Education gives dignity to man, mollifies dispositions, makes duties clear, subtilizes faults, eradicates or conceals them, inspires love of order, of justice and of the virtues, engenders good taste in all things in life.²⁷

What Diderot outlined for Russia he recommended for France, a system of people's schools with compulsory attendance and gratuitous instruction. His view was expressed in the following words, "From the Prime Minister to the lowly peasant, it is good for every one to know how to read, write and count".²⁸ For the secondary schools which were to be established, he urged the importance of mathematics, modern science, literature and the machinery of government, in preference to the humanities and the medieval type of logic and ethics. Diderot also proposed for Russia an administrative bureau to be known as the University of Russia, at the head of which would be a statesman who would exercise control of all the work of public

²⁶ Ellwood P. Cubberley, The History of Education (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1920), p. 511.

²⁷ De La Fontainerie, French Liberalism and Education in the 18th Century (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1932), pp. 199-200.

²⁸ Cubberley, op. cit. p. 512.

instruction. Though never carried out in Russia, the University of France, established 1808, was largely an embodiment of the ideas which were proposed by Diderot in 1776.²⁹

A contemporary of Diderot and a noted psychologist was Condillac, whose contribution to education lies in his great work of thirteen volumes, Course of Study. This work is a collection of the lessons which he composed for the education of the infant Ferdinand, the grandson of Louis XV and heir to the dukedom of Parma.³⁰ Following the death of Diderot, the leadership of the philosophical party passed to Condorcet. For years, Condorcet had been deeply interested in the idea of public education. His Report will be examined in Chapter V. He was convinced that man is naturally good and that evil is derived from ignorance, superstition and the perversity of social and political institutions.³¹

Some writers classify Helvetius as a "fanatical unbeliever".³² His work Treatise on Man, under contemplation for fifteen years, did not appear until the year following his death. In Sections I and X of the Treatise education was the main topic. According to him education is all-powerful; it is the sole cause of the difference between minds. He believed that the vices of education arise from the opposition of the two powers, spiritual and temporal, that assume to direct it. Compayré summed up the views of Helvétius as follows,

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Compayré, op. cit., p. 312.

³¹Allen, op. cit., p. 149.

³²Higgins, op. cit., p. 29.

The State would have the nation become brave, industrious and enlightened. The Church demands a blind submission and unlimited credulity. Hence there is a contradiction in pedagogical precepts.³³

According to Helvétius a necessary requisite for progress in education would be its administration by civil power. Not only would he separate Church and State, he would have the State absorb the Church.

It was not by mere chance that the eighteenth century thinkers promulgated theories so strikingly opposed to those that were still regarded as basic to the social order; they had little choice when they contemplated the France of their day. The sight of so many absurd and unjust privileges whose evil effects were increasingly felt on every hand though their causes were less and less understood, forced them towards a concept of the natural equality of all men irrespective of social rank. When they saw so many time-worn institutions destined to live on, despite the fact that they had ceased to have any present value, it is not surprising that these men desired to remold society on an entirely new basis.³⁴ An absolute monarchy claiming to rule by the will of God, an aristocracy in possession of special rights, privileges and honors, the masses of the people excluded from any part in the government and burdened with taxes and feudal dues -- such were some of the survivals of medievalism which formed pre-revolutionary France.³⁵ The majority of Frenchmen felt they were being victimized, their personal freedom, their money, their self-respect and

³³Compayré, op. cit., p. 330.

³⁴Alexis de Tocqueville, The Old Regime and the French Revolution, translated by Stuart Gilbert (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1955) p. 140.

³⁵Webster, op. cit., p. 852.

the amenities of their daily lives were constantly being tampered with, on the strength of some ancient law, some medieval usage or the remnants of some antiquated servitude. Nor did they see any constitutional remedy for this state of affairs; it seemed as if the choice lay between accepting the status quo or uprooting the whole system. They chose the latter.³⁶

Lord Acton in his "epoch-making" lectures on the French Revolution termed the philosophers "heralds of the Revolution".³⁷ They did not, however, cause the Revolution, which arose from a perfectly definite set of concrete political events, but once started, the Revolution expressed itself in the broad conception of eighteenth century thought, in which "man" was the fundamental reality, with all classes, nations and races of merely secondary importance.

Thus the Revolution addressed itself to all men alike... it presented a universal philosophy in which, were it only accepted, all human beings could at least in principle live at peace, equal in dignity...³⁸

³⁶De Tocqueville, The Old Regime and the French Revolution, p. 141.

³⁷F.J.C. Hearnshaw, op. cit. p. 169.

³⁸Georges Lefebvre, The Coming of the French Revolution, translated by R.R. Palmer (New York: Random House, Incorporated, 1957) p. XV.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW SPIRIT IN EDUCATION PRIOR TO 1789

Designed to support and preserve the political and social structure of the old Regime in France, the system of education was controlled by the king and delegated by him to the Church. The universities were dependent in part on religious authority,

Save in rare exceptions, there were no professors of distinction; the education was formal...there was an abuse of abstract rules, of grammatical exercises, of written tasks, and of Latin composition...¹

Everything was taught in the spirit of orthodox religion and to the glory of "His Most Christian Majesty".² There was no disposition to take an advanced step, but an obstinate resistance to the new spirit.³

Secondary schools were controlled by religious organizations and gave "traditional and devitalized instruction" to the children of the wealthier classes.⁴ Diderot criticized the traditional system with extreme severity,

...There are still taught to-day...two dead languages which are of use only to a small number of citizens... under the name of rhetoric, the art of speaking is taught before the art of thinking, and that of speaking elegantly before having ideas; under the name of logic, the head is filled with the subtilties of Aristotle...under the name of ethics, I do not know what is said, but I know there is not a word said either of the qualities of mind or heart; under the name of metaphysics, there are discussed theses as trifling as they are knotty...under the name of physics,

¹Compayré, op. cit., p. 234.

²Edward H. Reisner, Nationalism and Education since 1789 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), p. 9.

³Compayré, loc. cit.

⁴Reisner, loc. cit.

there is endless dispute about the elements of matter and the system of the world...⁵

In regard to primary education, if facilities did exist for the children of the common people they were provided by religious associations of men and women whose main purpose was moral and religious instruction. The great mass of the French poorer classes were altogether illiterate.⁶

The pedagogical theory of the eighteenth century was dominated by the idea of an education which would be public and national. Rousseau in his writings gave it prominence. We may regard this literary figure as foremost among French educational theorists, admitting however that he was inspired by such men as Montaigne, Locke and the Abbé de Saint-Pierre.⁷ During the twenty-five years that followed the publication of the *Émile*, there appeared in the French language, twice as many books on education as during the first sixty years of the century. Rousseau had the merit of stimulating minds and of laying the groundwork of a rich educational harvest.⁸

Rousseau's views on national education can be seen from his Considerations on the Government of Poland,

National education belongs only to a people who are free....
It is education which is to give to men the national mold,
and so to direct their opinions and their tastes that they will
become patriots by inclination, by passion and by necessity.⁹

Rousseau may be regarded as one of the apostles of democracy. The aim of

⁵Compayré, op. cit., pp. 321-322.

⁶Reisner, loc. cit.

⁷Compayré, op. cit., p. 280.

⁸Ibid., p. 309.

⁹Ibid., p. 308.

his doctrine was to produce a useful body of citizens rather than a highly cultured minority. Man was the fundamental reality.

At the same time as the Émile appeared, another striking event took place in France, the expulsion of the Jesuits (1762). The lay spirit was coming into mortal conflict with the ecclesiastical. The causes of the expulsion of the Jesuits were doubtless complex, and above all else political. In attacking the Jesuits, the Parliaments of France desired especially to defend the interests of the State, compromised as they were by a powerful society which tended to dominate all Christian nations. Reasons of an educational character had also some influence on their condemnation. Reforms were demanded which this religious organization was incapable of realizing.¹⁰

While the Parliaments rejoiced at the expulsion of the Jesuits, they realized that a vacuum had been created in the field of higher education. Concern over this state of affairs was expressed by some of the members of the Parliaments in the following words,

It is of little use to destroy if we do not intend to build. The public good and the honor of the nation require that we should establish a civil education which shall prepare each new generation for filling with success the different employments of the State.¹¹

Of all the parliamentarians who distinguished themselves in the campaign to fill this gap, the most noted was the solicitor-general of the Parliament of Bretagne, René de la Chalotais.¹² In theory the seculariza-

¹⁰Ibid., p. 341.

¹¹Ibid., p. 343.

¹²Ibid., p. 344.

tion of education had begun. The Church was to lose one of its historical prerogatives and the modern State to take over as educator.

La Chalotais' Essay on National Education, appearing one year after the Emile, was dominated by the idea of the necessary secularization of instruction and dealt broadly with the administrative side of a national system of education,

I dare claim for the nation an education which depends only on the State, because it belongs essentially to the State; because every State has an inalienable and indefeasible right to instruct its members, because, finally, the children of the State ought to be educated by the members of the State.¹³

He censured the "narrow monastic and ultramontane education" and asserted that it must be replaced.¹⁴ He charged that the education of his time did not prepare children for real life, for life in the State,

A stranger who should visit our collèges might conclude that in France we think only of peopling the seminaries, the cloisters and the Latin colonies.¹⁵

He demanded citizen-teachers who would give preference to their native land above that of the supernatural world. He requested the King to bid the professors of the universities and the academies draw up a scheme of education for all ages and for all callings.¹⁶ He suggested the creation of a Royal Committee to study such a plan, although he himself did not possess any special qualifications in this regard, except that of a highly trained mind, well versed in argumentation.¹⁷

¹³Ibid., p. 345.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 347.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 346.

¹⁶H.C. Barnard, The French Tradition in Education (Cambridge: The University Press, 1922), p. 232.

¹⁷De La Fontainerie, op. cit., p. 161.

The Essay of La Chalotais represented the effort of a practical man who attempted to respond to the aspirations and needs of his time. He contended that education should be of the state, by the state and for the state. It should be practical and definitely organized to prepare for certain given functions in the state. Morals should be taught independently of religion. Teachers should be of the secular clergy but preferably laymen. Although exhibiting profound pity for the disinherited of this world, La Chalotais feared too much education for them. This view he expressed as follows,

The welfare of society requires that the education of the common people should not go beyond its occupations. Any man who looks beyond his trade will never work at it with courage and patience. It is hardly necessary that any of the common people should know how to read and write except those who earn their living by these arts, or whom these arts help to earn their living.¹⁸

The Essay was overshadowed by numerous other treatises which appeared about the same date. However it had a value all its own and some of its practical proposals were eventually put into effect. Its greatest shortcoming was the aversion to an educated proletariat.¹⁹

Borrowing from the ideas of La Chalotais and also from the Mémoires which the University of Paris drew up in 1763 and 1764, Rolland (1734-1794), President of the Parliament of Paris, presented a Report to his colleagues in 1768. As opposed to La Chalotais, however, he took a bold stand for the necessity of primary instruction and for the progress and diffusion of human knowledge. According to Rolland,

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁹ Barnard, op. cit., p. 247.

Education cannot be too widely diffused, to the end that there may be no class of citizens who may not be brought to participate in its benefits. It is expedient that each citizen receive the education which is adapted to his needs.²⁰

Into the general organization of public instruction, Rolland wished to introduce a higher normal school. This was in keeping with the idea expressed by the University of Paris. The establishment was to be governed by professors drawn from the different faculties. The aspirants, received on the basis of competitive examinations, were to be divided into three classes, corresponding to the three grades of admission. Rolland required that definite and systematic instruction be given in pedagogy, so important to the teachers of youth. A "Bureau of Correspondence" comprising a council of the government would be set up in Paris to administer all scholastic establishments.²¹ He proposed uniformity of instruction throughout all France to develop a national spirit, a national character and a national jurisprudence.²² Education was no longer regarded as an instrument for securing the everlasting salvation of the soul of the individual; it was now the chief means of insuring the well-being of the State.

Another contemporary of La Chalotais and Rolland who also shared their views regarding lay, national instruction was Turgot (1727-1781). To help remedy, at least partially, the great inequality of educational opportunity, Turgot proposed the creation of a Royal Council of National Education, under the direction of which would be placed the academies, the universities,

²⁰Compayré, op. cit., p. 356.

²¹Compayré, op. cit., pp. 357-358.

²²Cubberley, op. cit., p. 511.

the collèges and the primary schools. In his Mémoires to the King (1775) he made a plea for the establishment of a civil and national education which should be extended to the country at large. The following is an excerpt from the Mémoires,

...I think I can propose to you nothing of more advantage to your people than to cause to be given to all your subjects an instruction which shows them the obligations they owe to society and to your power to protect them, and the interest they have in fulfilling those duties for the public good and their own...²³

Turgot's importance as an educational reformer lies mainly in his proposals for a Royal Council, or, in other words, a Ministry of Education. It was to be a living perpetual organ, qualified and authorized to deal with details and supply deficiencies and, above all, to make such changes and innovations as might seem necessary at any given time or place.²⁴

La Chalotais, Rolland and Turgot and some of their contemporaries were the creators of a scholastic revolution, the voice of which echoed more loudly still in the years 1789-1795 and cried for the immediate institution of a new efficient and reformed system of education. There was no turning back. The peace which despotism imposed on ignorance and passive obedience, was swept away by a new era of liberty, equality and fraternity.

²³Cubberley, loc. cit.

²⁴De La Fontainerie, op. cit., p. 178.

CHAPTER III

THE ESTATES-GENERAL (July 5, 1788-June 27, 1789)

In eighteenth century France two systems of government co-existed and these two systems were irreconcilable -- the absolute monarchy and feudalism. Feudal France bore all the feudal dues and customs belonging to a vanished past, while monarchical France bore the heavy load of war-taxes, palace-building and other expenses of the most sumptuous court in Europe.¹ A financial difficulty arose, culminated particularly by France's aid to the Americans in their War of Independence. It became obvious that the situation could not be relieved without the Monarchy calling upon some part of the people. Thus Louis XVI, yielding reluctantly to popular demand, convoked the Estates-General, the old feudal assembly of France. Awakened from their long slumber, the representatives of the clergy, nobility and commons, or Third-Estate, appeared at Versailles to take counsel with the King on May 5, 1789.²

During the months from July 1788 to January 1789, plans had been made for the convocation of the Assembly. By February 1789 the elections had begun. They took place for the most part in an atmosphere of turmoil, intensified by complex electoral technique and continued economic distress.³ The elections were accompanied by the drafting of lists of grievances (cahier des doléances) that were considered most pressing locally and

¹Hearnshaw, *op. cit.* p. 50.

²Webster, *op. cit.* p. 875.

³Stewart, *op. cit.* p. 42.

nationally. These cahiers present a most interesting and significant expression of public opinion and a valued historical document.⁴

By the end of April 1789 most of the elections had been completed, most of the cahiers submitted and most of the deputies were on their way to Versailles. A King had been driven to call the representatives of his people into council. May 5, 1789, witnessed the actual convening of the Estates-General, composed of 1,165 members, approximately 600 of whom belonged to the Third Estate. Of these 600, almost half belonged to the legal profession, some were members of the clergy, notably Abbé Sieyès, eleven were nobles, including Count Mirabeau, the economist Du Pont de Nemours, also the wealthy Parisian banker, Laborde de Merveille. Robespierre, a prominent lawyer, and Bailly, an astronomer and writer, were also prominent figures.⁵ The privileged orders had no leadership to compare with the directing genius of the leaders and deputies of the Third-Estate. As a whole, the Estates-General represented the most prosperous and the most intelligent people of France.

The Third-Estate possessed two very competent leaders in Count Mirabeau and the Abbé Sieyès. The former belonged by birth and the latter by office to the privileged classes, but both gladly accepted election as representatives of the commons. Mirabeau, a born statesman and orator, had a sincere belief in constitutional government, wishing to set up in France a strong monarchy limited by a constitution after the English model. Sieyès, a cleric, more devoted to politics than to theology, had recently aroused all Frenchmen

⁴Ibid., p. 56.

⁵Allen, op. cit. Vol I, p. 238.

by a remarkable pamphlet entitled What is the Third Estate? He answered, "Everything!" "What has it been hitherto?" "Nothing." "What does it desire?" "To be something."⁶

There were few more critical days during the French Revolution than the first weeks of the Estates-General. In former days the three Estates sat in separate chambers and voted by orders. If this procedure were now followed the clergy and the nobility would have two votes to one of the Third-Estate. The latter insisted that the new Estates-General no longer represented feudal France but the united nation and that it should organize as a single body in which the members voted as individuals. The debate over the organization of the Estates-General continued for several weeks and the representatives of the Third-Estate resorted to the only defence available at the moment -- passive resistance. A deadlock ensued. Finally on the motion of Sieyes, the Third-Estate cut the "Gordian knot" and declared itself the National Assembly.⁷ The clergy and nobility might follow if they so desired. The commons claimed to act for the nation in spite of the King and the privileged classes. The Estates-General, summoned primarily as a financial expedient, was no more.

For obvious reasons the Estates-General had little opportunity to debate on social and cultural problems as such. It is worthy of note, however, that the demands for setting up a national system of education were becoming insistent at this time, as is evidenced from the voices of reform heard in the cahiers presented to the King at Versailles, May 1789. Nobility, clergy and commons alike, included among their demands the

⁶ Webster, op. cit., pp. 875-876.

⁷ Ibid., p. 876.

organization of a comprehensive plan of education for France.⁸

The clergy of Dourdan, in their cahier of March 27, 1789, requested the King to consider the very important and crucial matter of national education so very pertinent to the glory of France and to the creation of good moral citizens and virtuous ministers of religion. They proposed endowments of provincial collèges, so that the talented poor could receive a fitting education. They also proposed establishment schools in every parish whose teachers would be paid generously by stipends and by subsidies from the families of wealthier pupils. These teachers would be subject to close scrutiny and could be dismissed if they failed to fulfil their religious and educational functions. Their right of appeal would be reserved to the Bishop. These clergy also requested the King to look benevolently upon the numerous communities of the provincial cities whose task it was to educate indigent young girls for religion and for work.⁹

The clergy of Rodez and Samur demanded a plan of national education for the young. Those of Lyons requested that education be restricted to a teaching body guaranteed by tenure of office. Teachers could be removed if they were guilty of negligence, misconduct or incapacity. This teaching body would be obliged to conform to a uniform plan which would, it was hoped, be adopted by the Estates-General.¹⁰

The second Estate was also well-represented in the call for reform voiced in various cahiers presented at Versailles. The nobles of Dourdan,

⁸ Cubberley, op. cit., p. 500.

⁹ Stewart, op. cit., p. 58.

¹⁰ Compayré, op. cit., pp. 368-369.

March 29, 1789, requested public schools in the cities which would be presided over by "citizens of distinguished personal attainments and of recognized enlightenment".¹¹ They set forth their demands also for the curriculum of such schools, namely, the principles of the natural law, the principles of civil law and the principles of public law, which would illumine the rights and duties of man, of the citizen and of the nation. Religion was to be the basis of scholastic and moral education. Fifteen years of age would be the minimum entrance age to these public schools. They also requested that the religious orders be divided into two classes, one devoted to the education of youth, the other to visiting the sick to render spiritual and temporal assistance. They further recommended that the cures of the rural parishes be granted assistants to help them conduct free schools for youth and particularly for the needy.¹²

Another cahier arriving from the nobles of Chateau-Thierry voiced opinion that public education should embrace the sciences, "useful for the physician, the lawyer and the military man" and that emphasis on Latin should be diminished.¹³ The nobles of Lyons insisted that a "national character" be impressed on the education of both sexes, while those of Paris demanded the perfection of public education and its extension to all classes of citizens.¹⁴ The nobles of Blois requested a council of

¹¹Stewart, op. cit., p. 58.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Frederick Eby, The Development of Modern Education (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1941), p. 580.

¹⁴Compayré, op. cit., p. 369.

the most enlightened scholars of Paris and of the provinces, representative of the citizens of the different orders, so that a plan of national education could be formulated for the benefit of all classes of society and for the publication of elementary textbooks.¹⁵

As is evidenced, the cahiers of the nobility confined themselves to recommending that all proper means be taken to spread education both in the towns and in the country and that each boy be taught with a view to his future vocation. They insisted on the necessity of teaching children the political rights and duties of the citizen.¹⁶

The voice of the Third-Estate was also heard. That of Dourdan, March 29, 1789, recommended the establishment of a public school in the chief town of every baillage where young citizens would be brought up in the principles of religion and would be provided with the necessary education through methods authorized by the King at the request of the nation. In addition to these, they proposed that further schools be created in cities and villages where education would be provided free to the poor and that they should be instructed in whatever was deemed necessary for their moral welfare and individual interest.¹⁷

The people of Bordeaux showed concern over the waste of youthful energy on "the arid study of a dead language".¹⁸ They would substitute sciences in conjunction with morals, belles-lettres, the languages, history,

¹⁵Ibid., p. 369.

¹⁶A. de Tocqueville, The Old Regime and The French Revolution, p. 265.

¹⁷Stewart, op. cit., p. 83.

¹⁸Eby, op. cit., p. 580.

the law of nations and the law of nature. The people of Vouvant voiced the same concern and their curriculum would include "the exact sciences, physics, chemistry, natural history, history, geography, fine arts and living languages".¹⁹

Public education became a matter of current interest. The chief charges against the curriculum were, that the study of the classics was over-emphasized, that too much time was spent on the Latin language itself and too little attention given to the French language and literature, that ancient history alone was taught and practically no modern history, and that the sciences were almost totally neglected. The people who drew up the cahiers were solicitous of the welfare of the masses and of their education. Through education it was hoped the masses would better understand their obligations to the state and to society. An efficient system of education was the indispensable basis of a true democracy, the dream of the enlightened spirits of the age.

¹⁹Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (June 28, 1789-September 20, 1791)

On June 17, 1789, the Third Estate, on the motion of Sieyès, took a momentous step and declared itself to be the National Assembly. This action produced a great sensation. The representatives of the lower clergy joined its ranks. The nobility were amazed and indignant. "We are assembled by the national will", declared Mirabeau, "force alone shall disperse us".¹ Louis XVI dared not use force, especially after many of the nobles, headed by the Marquis de Lafayette, joined the commoners. The King had no choice but to command the rest of the clerical and noble representatives to unite with the Third Estate in the National Assembly.

In this new Assembly which had undertaken to remodel the structure of the state, the representatives of the middle class with their liberal associates among the clergy and nobility formed a large majority. This body was essentially an organ of the substantial classes of society. Its members were inspired by lofty humanitarian ideals and enthusiasm for the philosophic doctrines of the eighteenth century. They stood for thorough but orderly reform and consistent progress. The resolution and character of the National Assembly gave promise of positive reconstruction. The Assembly promptly set to work to abolish the old regime and its numerous relics of feudalism.²

¹Webster, op. cit., p. 877.

²Allen, op. cit. vol. II, p. xv.

Following the example of other liberal nations the Assembly adopted a Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, in the spirit of the philosophers, asserting certain natural and inalienable rights supposedly conferred by nature on man before the existence of organized society, rights of liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.³ Animated by enlightened ideals, but hampered by political inexperience, the Assembly survived a little more than two years.

A phase of the work of the National Assembly that is of great significance in the history of French education is its treatment of the Church. The State confiscated the lands of the Church and sold a large part of them, the proceeds of which were applied to governmental use. Monasteries and convents were dissolved and the monks and nuns were pensioned by the State. The salaries of the clergy were carried on the Civil Service list.⁴

When the old Regime was abolished and a system of representative political institutions established, participation in the national life was extended to the people. To prepare them for their new privileges and responsibilities, it was essential to create a system of education that would be dependent in its purpose and its administration upon the civil state.

The Constitution of September 4, 1791, a tangible revolutionary gospel, contained the following provision regarding education:

Public instruction for all citizens, free of charge in those branches of education which are indispensable to all men, shall be constituted and organized, and the establishments thereof shall be apportioned gradually, in accordance with the division

³Ibid., p. 319.

⁴Reisner, op. cit., p. 11.

of the kingdom. -- Title I Article 48.⁵

In his writings of 1789, Sieyès had envisaged the establishment of national education under the auspices of the State, with a program of instruction, covering morals, history, the principles of legislation, elementary national rights and the national law. He proposed that part of the clergy's wealth might be used in financing such a system.⁶

Mirabeau had the highest regard for Sieyès and proposed him as Minister of Education.

Educational treatises were many in the early days of the Revolution, showing the ever-growing interest which public opinion attached to educational questions. The Oratorians presented to the National Assembly a series of scholastic plans. Talleyrand prepared his remarkable Report and Mirabeau embodied his own reflections in four discourses, published after his death by the good offices of Cabanis. The titles were as follows

1. Draft of a Law for the Organization of the Teaching Body.
2. Public and Military Festivals.
3. Organization of a National Lycée.
4. The Education of the Heir Presumptive to the Crown.

Mirabeau was alarmed by the dangers of ignorance and illiteracy as we can see from these words,

Those who desire that the peasant may not know how to read or write, have doubtless made a patrimony of his ignorance, and their motives are not difficult to appreciate; but they do not know that when they have made a wild beast of a man, they expose themselves to the momentary danger of seeing him transformed into a savage beast.⁷

⁵Stewart, op. cit. p. 232.

⁶Glyndon G. Van Deusen, Sieyès, His Life and Nationalism (Columbia: University Press, 1932), p. 99.

⁷Compayré, op. cit. pp. 369-370.

However Mirabeau did not admit that the State should impose compulsory education. He said,

Society has not the right to prescribe instruction as a duty....Public authority has not the right, with respect to the members of the social body to go beyond the limits of watchfulness against justice and of protection against violence....⁸

Mirabeau felt no greater partisanship for free education. "Gratuitous education", he said, "is paid for by everybody, while its fruits are immediately gathered by only a small number of individuals".⁹

In Mirabeau's plan decentralization of administration was proposed. Establishments for instruction were not to form a consolidated body, nor be subject to an executive power. On the other hand he would depend for administration of public and national instruction on the elected officers of the departments or districts. By the side of the primary schools, he would establish a college of literature for each department. For Paris he proposed a single National Lycée, "designed to secure to a select number of French youth the means of finishing their education".¹⁰

The work of Mirabeau formed a graduated transition between the old and the new Regime. One does not find in it the fiery ideals that were to impassion men and it is the Report of Talleyrand which constitutes the real introduction to the educational work of the Revolution.¹¹

⁸Ibid., p. 370.

⁹Ibid., p. 371.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 372.

¹¹Cubberley, op. cit., p. 513.

Talleyrand's Bill was an indication of a new attitude toward education which had been induced by the establishment of a new political order. It recognized education as a state function entirely divorced from the Church. It proposed to employ the schools as an agency for the promotion of a national culture. It planned an organization of schools consistent with the increased participation of people in government.

Talleyrand made a distinction between those subjects of instruction which were "indispensable to the individual as a man and a citizen" and those which were needed only in preparation for professional life. The former were to be free of cost and open to the children of all citizens without distinction, while the latter were to be paid for. This attitude reflected the limited democracy which France had achieved by the Constitution of 1791.¹² According to Compayré, Talleyrand held the opinion that

Society is under obligation to give elementary instruction, ...and still less, special and higher instruction. Gratuitous for the lowest grade, and in case of that elementary knowledge which constitutes for every civilized man a real moral necessity, instruction ought not to be free to young men who aspire to a liberal profession, because they have leisure, and who have leisure because they have wealth.¹³

However, he admitted exceptions in the case of talent. By the creation of national scholarships the doors of all the schools would be opened to "select intelligences", who because of their poverty would remain "obscure and unappreciated".¹⁴

¹²Reisner, op. cit., p. 13.

¹³Compayré, op. cit., p. 377.

¹⁴Ibid.

The purpose of the primary schools was declared to be to teach all children their first and indispensable duties, to instil in them the principles which ought to direct their actions; and to make them happier men and more useful citizens through preserving them from the dangers of ignorance.¹⁵

These results were to be achieved through reading, writing, the simple elements of the French language, the rules of elementary arithmetic and some geography. In order to show the interdependence of the members of society and to create good citizens, the pupils were also to be instructed in the principles of the Constitution, the first elements of morals, the elementary principles of religion and the duties common to all citizens. Talleyrand did not elaborate on what might constitute elementary principles of religion and morals, except to say that men should be "taught what is good and just, made to love it, and made to find happiness in virtuous actions and wretchedness in those which are not so".¹⁶

The Bill of Talleyrand did not specify any administrative unit for the establishment of primary schools, but left this to the judgment of the departmental governments acting upon the demands of local initiative. No compulsion was laid upon the communes to establish schools nor upon parents to send their children to the schools after they had been established. The Committee on Public Instruction relied upon popular support for the establishment of schools and upon the enthusiasm of parents to send their children to these schools for instruction. The primary school

¹⁵Reisner, op. cit., p. 13.

¹⁶Compayré, op. cit., p. 376.

teacher was to receive from the state a fixed salary and to be provided with a schoolroom. His loyalty to the state was to be guaranteed by a civil oath, his professional fitness insured through official examinations.¹⁷ What these examinations were to comprise, Talleyrand did not elaborate. Probably it was expected that they would deal with course content absorbed in the institutions which provided secondary education.

Talleyrand provided next for intermediate or secondary education, intended if not for all, at least for the greater number and given in the principal town of each district. The dual purpose of these schools was to provide for general cultural development and to furnish special preparation for entrance to professional life. In the curriculum, emphasis was to be placed upon scientific and social subjects and the vernacular. Language, logic, rhetoric, principles of religion, ethics, geography, history, mathematics and physics were to be distributed over a period of seven years while special attention was to be paid to physical training and military exercises. In the Grammar Course, comprising the first two years, republican morality was to be made the central theme and the pupils were to learn by heart the Declaration of the Rights of Man.¹⁸ In keeping with national ideals, great emphasis was to be placed upon French language and literature and upon comparative and French history. The secondary school teacher was to be appointed a member of the national civil administration, eligible only through uniform examinations and civil appointment,

¹⁷Reisner, op. cit. pp. 13-14.¹⁸Ibid., p. 14.

following a profession of loyalty through a civil oath.¹⁹ At least ten scholarships were to be provided in the principal school of each department on behalf of poor but gifted students.

Embodied in Talleyrand's Bill were provisions for a third and higher grade of schools, named "schools of the department". They were professional in nature and comprised schools of religion, medicine, law and military science.²⁰ Finally at the head of the state system of education proposed by Talleyrand, was the National Institute, composed of the most noted of all men distinguished for their learning. Their activities were to combine research and lecturing, their aim being the advancement of science, art and letters.

A Commission of Public Instruction was to be formed in Paris, whose aim would be to administer the system so that unity of purpose and completeness of organization would be secured. The King was to appoint six Commissioners of Education and also a number of inspectors. These inspectors could be sent to any part of the country at any time wherever their services would be required. The Commission would be responsible for the celebration of national festivals, the encouragement of the arts, and the direction of public libraries, including the National Library. In addition the Commission would have charge of all the property and the revenues devoted to education and would present to the Legislative Body an annual report on the state of education in the country at large. Private parties who would submit to the general laws of public instruction would be allowed to set up

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰James Mulhern, A History of Education (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1946), p. 539.

a school, provided notice was served to the municipal council.²¹

In regard to the education of women, Talleyrand would not admit girls to primary school after age eight, but suggested instead a domestic education, received in the family, to prepare women for their roles as wives and mothers. Their own interests, their nature and their proper destination, he stated, should forbid them from entering the political arena. In this area he agreed with Mirabeau who asserted that it was the function of woman to perpetuate the species, to watch with solicitude over the perilous periods of early youth, and "to enchain to her feet all the energies of the husband by the irresistible power of her weakness".²² Talleyrand thought it necessary that the State should establish institutions of public education destined to replace the convents.

At the basis of every educational system there is always a dominant political thought. As Montesquieu said, "The laws of education ought to be relative to the principles of government".²³ Talleyrand was inspired by this same idea. In 1792 politics became the almost exclusive preoccupation of the education of youth at least in theory. Everything else -- religion, accuracy of judgment, nobility of heart -- were relegated to second place. Man was nothing more than a political animal, "brought into the world to know, to love and to obey the Consitution".²⁴ The Declaration

²¹ Reisner, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

²² Compayré, op. cit., p. 378.

²³ Cubberley, op. cit., p. 513.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 516.

of the Rights of Man became in the system of Talleyrand, the catechism of childhood.²⁵ Instruction was the necessary counterpart of liberty.

Compayré expressed the view of Talleyrand with these words,

...After having given power to the people, you ought to teach them wisdom. Of what use would it be to enfranchise brutal and unconscious forces, to turn them over to their own keeping?...²⁶

As only a few days of life remained to the National Assembly after Talleyrand had presented his Report, the members were unwilling in the short time available to undertake the consideration of so weighty and intricate a matter as the organization of an entirely new system of education. Talleyrand urged the importance of the measure, pointing out that the needs were pressing, because the Universities had ceased to operate and the Collèges were without discipline, professors or pupils. His pleading went unanswered. The National Assembly ordered that the Bill be printed and distributed and recommended its consideration to the Legislative Assembly which its labors called into being.²⁷

The work of the National Constituent Assembly along the lines of educational reform was of necessity limited. Its troubled existence witnessed the Fall of the Bastille, July 14, 1789, the symbol of tyranny of the Old Regime. On hearing the sensational news Louis XVI exclaimed, "Why, this is a revolt!" His courtier replied, "No sire, this is a revolution".²⁸

²⁵ Compayré, op. cit., p. 375.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 374.

²⁷ Reisner, op. cit., p. 16.

²⁸ Webster, op. cit., p. 879.

The flight of Louis and the royal family to Varennes in June 1791 and their enforced return to Paris was virtually the end of the monarchy.

The National Assembly, however, gave France a constitution, a new set of laws and institutions. Feudalism was abolished and the power of the old privileged orders and the Parlements broken. Precious time for discussion of educational matters was of necessity limited. While regretting "not having established the bases of the regeneration of education",²⁹ the National Assembly dissolved and in its place the Legislative Assembly was created in October 1791.

²⁹Compayré, op. cit., p. 373.

CHAPTER V

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (October 1, 1791-September 20, 1792)

The Revolution did not stop at the point to which the National Assembly had taken it, though many of the revolutionary leaders of 1789 would have preferred it to do so. The Legislative Assembly marked a more radical phase, fostered as it was by inflammatory newspapers and pamphlets, by bitter speeches of popular demagogues and especially by numerous political clubs, chiefly the Jacobin Club, among whose leaders were two men soon destined to influence profoundly the subsequent course of the Revolution. One of these men was Danton, a member of the middle class, highly cultured, a successful lawyer, whose loud voice and forceful gestures could arouse an audience to wild enthusiasm. The other was Robespierre, also a middle-class lawyer with democratic sympathies, a disciple of Rousseau.¹

At this point Continental monarchs felt no sympathy with a popular movement which threatened their absolutism and divine right. The Austrian Emperor and the Prussian King prepared their armies for foreign service. The French people were provoked into a declaration of war. Their troops, though filled with enthusiasm, were poorly organized and reverses suffered were so severe that Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were accused of treason. Whereupon, the Jacobins under Danton organized an uprising of the Paris proletariat, which stormed the Tuileries, massacred the Swiss Guard and compelled the Legislative Assembly to suspend the King from office. Fol-

¹Webster, op. cit., p. 887.

lowing this the Assembly gave way to the National Convention.²

The Legislative Assembly was too much absorbed in the national defence to devote its energy to the needed far-reaching reform of education, but the general plans considered at the time show the progress of ideas.³ Nationalism and democracy imply the necessity for an educated people. Nationalism calls for universal education in order that there may be a general development of individual power - physical, mental and moral - so that the nation composed of individuals may realize its full military and economic strength. Democracy calls for sincere devotion to education in order that the great mass of the voters may be equipped for the responsible duties and privileges of citizenship.⁴ However, the methods and means of education at that time in France were deplorably inadequate and antiquated and the schools had suffered much from war, emigration and from the suppression of the teaching orders.

Charged by the Legislative Assembly with the task of organizing public instruction, was the illustrious philosopher and writer, Marie Jean Antoine Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet. Born in Picardy in 1743 he was educated at the Jesuit College in Rheims and the College of Navarre in Paris where he distinguished himself particularly in the field of mathematics. He was admitted to the Academy of Sciences in 1769 and was elected to the French Academy in 1782. He collaborated with Diderot in the preparation of the

²Ibid., pp. 888-889.

³Allen, op. cit., vol. II, p. 316.

⁴Reisner, op. cit. pp. 2-3.

Encyclopédie and was a close associate of Voltaire and Turgot.⁵

Condorcet brought to his work the ardor of an enthusiastic nature and an undying zeal for the public good. He was greatly influenced by the revolt of the English Colonies in North America and the establishment of the new republic. He was elected to represent the city of Paris in the Legislative Assembly, became its secretary and in keeping with his appointment on the Committee on Public Instruction, drew up a Report on the General Organization of Public Instruction. This Report was presented to the Assembly on April 20 and 21, 1792. It reflected his belief in popular education as the basis of human progress. His ruling passion was to help his fellow-men in every country and every class to a richer life and he was convinced that the beckoning goal could be reached through wiser laws, universal education and the unfettered use of reason. He perceived no limit to the possibilities of further advancement, not only in the realm of the mind but in the organization of society. Among the innocent victims of the Jacobin purge, few had labored more unselfishly or more constructively for the happiness of mankind.⁶

The spirit and purpose of Condorcet's educational program for the new nation is clearly indicated in the following words with which his Report begins,

To offer all individuals of the human race the means of providing for their needs, of assuring their well-being, of knowing and exercising their rights, of understanding and performing their duties. To assure each of them the

⁵ Allen, op. cit., vol. II, p. 156.

⁶ George P. Gooch, French Profiles (Bristol, England: Western Printing Services, 1961), p. 145.

facility of perfecting his skill, of rendering himself capable of the social functions to which he has a right to be summoned, of developing to the fullest extent the talents with which Nature has endowed him; and thereby to establish among citizens an actual equality, and to effect the realization of the political equality recognized by law. Such must be the primary aim of national education....⁷

The 'actual equality' that Condorcet endorsed, was to be created by the elimination of every inequality which produced a sense of dependence in the individual - this was the task of instruction as seen in his dreams of perfectibility.⁸

He took up the ideas of Talleyrand and pointed out that without instruction, liberty and equality would be chimeras,

A free constitution which should not be correspondent to the universal instruction of citizens, would come to destruction after a few conflicts, and would degenerate into one of those forms of government which cannot preserve the peace among an ignorant or corrupt people.⁹

The system of schools throughout which Condorcet's ideal of universal education was to be achieved comprised four distinct grades of instruction, primary schools, secondary schools, institutes and lycees. A National Society of Arts and Sciences was to be founded for the general supervision and administration of the educational system and for the encouragement of scientific research, fine arts and literature.¹⁰

Elementary education should be universal and gratuitous. Every village

⁷Stewart, op. cit., p. 347.

⁸Compayré, op. cit. p. 386.

⁹Ibid., p. 380.

¹⁰Reisner, op. cit., p. 18.

of four hundred inhabitants was to have a school and a schoolmaster. Reading and writing and some elements of grammar were to be taught, also the rules of arithmetic, simple methods of measuring a plot of ground accurately, for estimating the height of a building, an elementary description of the products of the country and of agricultural and industrial techniques. Gymnastics were not to be overlooked. Such diverse instruction was to be divided into four courses each of which could be completed in one year by a child of normal intelligence.¹¹

The secondary schools were intended for children whose parents could do without their work for a longer time and could devote to their education both time and money. Each district and also each town of four thousand inhabitants was to have a secondary school. The course of studies was to comprise some elements of mathematics, natural history, applied chemistry, a more extensive development of the principles of ethics and social science and elementary instruction in commerce. Each school was to have a small library, and a small museum containing some meteorological instruments, some models of machines or of the crafts and some natural history specimens. These would provide a new source of instruction.¹² In the use of the word secondary to describe this second grade of school, Condorcet envisaged the equivalent of a higher primary school similar to that existing in France some years ago.¹³

¹¹ Stewart, op. cit., pp. 349-351.

¹² Ibid., pp. 351.

¹³ Reisner, op. cit. p. 19.

The third grade of instruction, the institute, was intended as a more liberal preparation for life than could be provided in the former grades and as a stepping-stone to professional or scholarly studies. Of these schools there were to be one hundred ten, to be distributed among all the departments of France. The student was to be allowed freedom in the choice of his studies.¹⁴ Condorcet favored science over classical studies,

...Even the elementary study of these sciences is the surest means of developing intellectual faculties, of learning to reason correctly and to analyze ideas effectively....Sciences are a remedy for prejudices and narrow-mindedness....Those who follow the progress of the sciences see the time approaching when the practical utility of their application will reach an extent which no one would have dared hope for, when the progress of the physical sciences is to bring about a happy revolution in the arts; and the surest means of hastening this revolution is to spread such knowledge among all classes of society and to facilitate the means of acquiring it.¹⁵

By a reaction, natural enough against those long centuries in which an abuse was made of classical culture Condorcet underrated the influence of classical languages.¹⁶ With reference to Latin Condorcet asked,

...Is it to be considered the universal language of scholars, in spite of the fact that it is daily losing that significance?...There is not a single really important work on science, philosophy, or politics which has not been translated; all the facts which these books contain can be found better explained, together with new facts, in books written in the vernacular. The reading of originals is useful only to those whose object is not the study of the science it-

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 19-20.

¹⁵ Stewart, op. cit. p. 353.

¹⁶ Compayré, op. cit., pp. 386-387.

self but of its history....You owe the French nation an education on a level with the spirit of the eighteenth century, with that philosophy which, while enlightening the present generation, presages, prepares, and already anticipates the superior intelligence to which the necessary progress of the human race is leading future generations.¹⁷

Condorcet's views regarding religious freedom and education can be seen in the following words,

...The Constitution, by recognizing the right of each individual to choose his religion, by establishing complete equality among all inhabitants of France, does not permit the introduction into public education of any teaching which, by excluding the children of part of the citizens, would destroy the equality of social advantages, and give to particular dogmas an advantage contrary to freedom of opinion. It is, then, absolutely necessary to separate ethics from the principles of any special religion, and not to permit in public education the teaching of any religious creed. Each religion must be taught in its own temples by its own ministers.¹⁸

Condorcet gave the name lycée to the fourth grade of instruction, the number of lycées to be fixed at nine, because by comparing this number with that of the great universities of England, Italy and Germany, it seemed to correspond with the needs of the population of France. Some of the lycées were to be conveniently located so as to attract students from other countries.¹⁹ These institutions of higher learning were to be devoted to advanced studies of science, ancient and modern languages, literature and art, where scholars could prepare themselves for professional life or engage in scholarly research.²⁰ Condorcet foresaw that these establishments

¹⁷ Stewart, op. cit., p. 354.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 357.

¹⁹ Stewart, op. cit., pp. 358-359.

²⁰ Reisner, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

would transmit from one generation to the next what it had received from the previous generation in conjunction with what it had been able to add thereto.²¹

Finally the last grade of instruction was to be a National Society of Arts and Sciences, instituted to supervise and direct the teaching establishments and to collect, encourage, apply and disseminate useful discoveries. Its members were to be the instructors of the entire generation and the accelerators of human progress, an educational hierarchy responsible in the last analysis for the certification and the appointment of teachers, the supervision of schools, the selection of text-books, the training of teachers and the progress of education in general. The National Society was to be divided into four classes which would hold their meetings separately,

1. all the mathematical sciences
2. the moral and political sciences
3. the sciences of applied mathematics and physics
4. grammar, letters, fine arts and classics.²²

The degree of freedom which Condorcet proposed for the National Society of Arts and Sciences and for the higher teaching institutions deserves a great deal of attention in connection with any consideration of the principles of education in a democracy. Thus he said, "Freedom of teaching, constitutes in a way, one of the rights of the human race...."²³ The Bill introduced by Condorcet proposed to remove the educational system from all forms of government influence by placing it in the hands of the National Society and

²¹Stewart, op. cit., p. 358.

²²Ibid., pp. 362-363.

²³Reisner, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

making that body self-perpetuating. It was not proposed however to extend to the teachers of the primary and secondary schools freedom to teach what and how they pleased, on the grounds that the attainments of the teachers in the schools did not warrant giving them so much liberty. In their case, freedom would result in superficiality. They were to teach the materials proposed and approved by the higher educational authorities. The teachers of the institutes and lycées and all members of the National Society were to be freed from all external control over their classroom on official utterances and to be encouraged to seek truth whatever it might turn out to be.²⁴

Condorcet was strongly impressed with the necessity of continuing the instruction of the sons of peasants after their withdrawal from school. He observed that,

Education must not forsake individuals when they leave school, that it must encompass all ages, that there is no age at which it is not useful and possible to learn and that this later education is even more necessary because that of childhood is restricted within the narrowest limits. Therein lies one of the principal causes of the ignorance in which the poorer classes of society are plunged to-day, the possibility of obtaining a primary education is greater than that of preserving its advantages. We wish that henceforth not a single man in the realm may be able to say, 'The law assures me an entire equality of rights, but I am denied the means of knowing them'.²⁵

Condorcet believed the government should say to the poor citizen, "If Nature has given you talents, you may develop them, and they will not be lost either to you or to the Patrie".²⁶

²⁴Ibid., pp. 22-23.

²⁵Stewart, op. cit. pp. 348-349.

²⁶Ibid., p. 349.

Regarding the education of women, Condorcet was one of its most ardent proponents. He wished education to be common and equal. He dreamed of a perfect identity of instruction for both sexes. Women should be instructed to enable them to bring up their children properly, to be worthy companions to their husbands in whom they should inspire a thirst for further learning and finally because it is the inalienable right of women to be educated.²⁷

Education according to Condorcet must be universal, that is to say, it must extend to all citizens. It must be shared as equally as the necessary limitations of expense, the distribution of population and the greater or lesser amount of time that children may devote to it, permit. It must comprise the entire system of human knowledge. The purpose of education, he said, "is a duty imposed upon the state by the common interest of society and of humanity at large".²⁸ Condorcet believed that the vices of the people came chiefly from their intellectual impotency, "from the need of escaping from ennui in moments of leisure, and in escaping from it through sensations and not through ideas".²⁹ He would substitute a book for the wine bottle, a library for the saloon - in a word, he would replace sensation by idea, "so as to cause gross natures to pass from the life of the senses to the intellectual life".³⁰

²⁷Compayré, op. cit., p. 385.

²⁸Reisner, op. cit., p. 118.

²⁹Compayré, op. cit., p. 381.

³⁰Ibid.

Condorcet was a fanatic on the subject of progress. The most potent means of hastening progress was to instruct men,

...Man ought no longer to regard himself as a being limited to a transitory and isolated existence, destined to vanish after an alternative of happiness or of misery for himself, and of good and evil for those whom chance has placed near him; but he becomes an active part of the grand whole, and a fellow-laborer in a work that is eternal. In an existence of a moment, and upon a point in space, he can, by his works, compass all places, relate himself to all the centuries, and continue to act long centuries after his memory has disappeared from the earth.³¹

Instruction was distinguished from education in the mind of Condorcet. He viewed instruction as dealing with positive and certain knowledge, the truths of fact and of calculation, whereas education dealt with political and religious beliefs. Therefore if in fact he saw the state as the natural dispenser of instruction he did not admit of its competency in matters of education. Compayré expressed the opinion of Condorcet as follows,

The State ought not to abuse its power by imposing by force on its citizens such or such a religious Credo, such and such a political dogma.³²

Daunou condemned Condorcet on a point of administration, that of making the teaching body an independent authority, released from all exterior authority, governing itself and administering its own affairs. Daunou said that Condorcet, the enemy of corporations,

has sanctioned one in his scheme of national instruction; he established, as it were, an academic church. This is because Condorcet, the enemy of kings, would add in the balance of public powers one counterbalance more to that

³¹Ibid., pp. 381-382.

³²Ibid., p. 382.

royal power whose monstrous existence, in a free constitution, is sufficiently attested by the alarms and fears of all the friends of liberty.³³

Tuition would be free in all four grades of education, because Condorcet believed that

...The natural order establishes in society no inequality other than that of education and wealth, and, by extending education, the effects of both of these causes of difference will be lessened....³⁴

Is Condorcet allowing himself to be carried away by his dreams of infinite perfectibility as to imagine for man and to expect from education results that are utterly unattainable? He seems blind to the inequality of talents. Strangely enough, he does not impose obligatory attendance at educational institutions. According to Compayré,³⁵ Condorcet expected that when

centres of light had been made to glow over the whole surface of the country, citizens would hasten after them, impelled by a natural appetite, spontaneously thirsting for enlightenment.³⁵

Such was not the case. It was left to the Convention to decree instruction "imperative and forced". In the question of the education of the teaching body, Condorcet contented himself with a provisional expedient, which consisted in entrusting to the professor of the grade immediately higher, the care of preparing teachers for the grade immediately lower.

³³Ibid., p. 386.

³⁴Stewart, op. cit., p. 360.

³⁵Compayré, op. cit., p. 387.

From the standpoint of putting into effect the plans of Condorcet at the time when they were proposed to the Legislative Assembly, one is almost justified in describing them with Duruy, as chimerical.³⁶ France was practically bankrupt, torn by political factions, without any tradition of public education, without any machinery for its realization and with the gravest of foreign complications threatening its existence. However the Report is of the highest value when considered as a document for succeeding centuries rather than as a law to be put into immediate effect. Judged from the standpoint of the provisions that are made for public education in many countries to-day, the plan was a masterpiece of prophetic insight and true feeling for the instrumentalities of democratic education.³⁷ It was presented to the Legislative Assembly on behalf of the Committee on Public Instruction, April 20-21, 1792, was reprinted in 1793 by order of the Convention. It did not directly have the honor of a public discussion, but it contained principles and solutions which are found in the deliberations and legislative acts of his successors. A second legislative body of the French Revolution was passing out of existence without having made any legal provision for that universal education which the Constitution called for.

³⁶ Duruy, L'Instruction Publique et la Revolution, as cited by Reisner, op. cit., p. 23.

³⁷ Reisner, op. cit., p. 23.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST PHASE OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION (September 20, 1792-June 2, 1793)

The National Convention was an assembly charged with the responsibility of providing France with a constitution, while exercising at the same time the governing power. The powers of the Legislative Assembly were transmitted in an orderly legal manner to the Convention which remained in existence for three years.¹ The Convention contained representatives of all professions and classes, including some of the former privileged classes. Representing the bourgeoisie were the Girondists, so called, because many of their leaders came from the department of the Gironde. This group desired a speedy return to law and order. Opposite them in the Chamber sat the far more radical and far more resolute group of Jacobins, who leaned for support upon the turbulent populace of Paris.² They derived their name from the famous Jacobin Club whose members held their meetings in a monastery which had once housed the Jacobin monks.³ The Jacobins included such agitators as Robespierre, Danton, Desmoulins and Marat, whose aim was the overthrow of the Girondins and the execution of the King.⁴

On September 22, 1792, the National Convention decreed royalty abolished in France. It proceeded to adopt a new calendar with this fateful

¹Allen, op. cit. Vol. 111, p. 54.

²Webster, op. cit. p. 889.

³Ibid., p. 887.

⁴Stewart, op. cit. pp. 377-378.

date representing the first day of Year 1 of the Republic.⁵ Louis XVI was brought to trial, charged with plotting against the nation, with paying the troops raised by the émigrés abroad, and with attempting to overthrow the constitution. On January 21, 1793, amidst the roll of drums and shouts of "Vive la nation" he expiated his "crimes" under the revolutionary blade of the guillotine.⁶

The National Convention offered the aid of France to all nations which were striving for freedom; in other words, it proposed to propagate the Revolution by force of arms throughout Europe. This was a threat to autocratic rulers and privileged classes everywhere. Austria, Russia, Great Britain, Spain and Holland allied together to overthrow Republican France.⁷ Jacobinism appeared as deadly a virus to the rulers and the conservative elements of these countries, as communism appears to-day to the free world.⁸

The Republic at the same time was threatened by domestic insurrection. The peasants of La Vendée, a district to the south of the lower Loire, were Royalists in feeling and strong adherents of the Catholic Church, who refused to be conscripted as soldiers to meet the foreign invasion. Edmund Burke referred to them as "the Christian army".⁹ Open civil war broke out with great ferocity. A tremor of revolt was also felt in the cities of

⁵ Hayes, Cole and Baldwin, op. cit., p. 700.

⁶ Stewart, op. cit., p. 385.

⁷ Webster, op. cit., p. 890-891.

⁸ Stewart, op. cit., p. 397.

⁹ Keith Feiling, A History of England (London: The Macmillan Company, 1959), p. 742.

Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, whose bourgeoisie resented the radicalism of the Jacobins and their proletariat supporters.¹⁰

The peril to the Republic from within and without showed the pressing need for a strong central government. To meet this need the National Convention decreed the formation of a Committee of Public Safety, an emergency executive committee comprising at first of nine members (later twelve) whose function it was to provide more effective action and greater cooperation between executive and legislative branches of government. Later this Committee dominated the Convention and it came to constitute the foundation of the Terror Government.¹¹

Although it was the Girondist party that had suggested the Committee, its members were drawn chiefly from the Jacobins and, from the first, the leading influence in it was Danton who advocated moderation. His aim was to cooperate with the Girondists, but they rejected his overtures because they looked upon the Jacobins as a party of violence and brutality who did not share their "idealistic and philosophic aims".¹² A fierce contest followed. The Girondists represented the provinces and had little support in Paris where the Revolution was really dominant. They were charged with "federalism", which was taken to mean that they wished at this moment, when France was faced by a European coalition, to break up the unity of the country and establish some loose form of government.¹³

¹⁰ Webster, op. cit., p. 891.

¹¹ Stewart, op. cit., pp. 423-424.

¹² A.J. Grant and H. Temperley, Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 1789-1950 (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1952), pp. 42-43.

¹³ Ibid., p. 43.

On May 31, 1793, a rising of the Paris populace demanded the arrest of the Girondists as enemies of the Revolution. The first rising was dispersed but was followed a few days later by a second. A Parisian crowd, fairly well armed and competently led, surrounded the hall of the Convention and demanded the arrest of the Girondists. The Convention capitulated by adopting a decree for the arrest of forty-seven of the members, who were immediately imprisoned where they awaited trial and possible execution.¹⁴ The Convention was now dominated by the Jacobins. The first phase had ended and a Reign of Terror was begun.

The attitude of the Convention regarding educational affairs parallels closely the variations in control between the more moderate and the more radical elements. Early in its sitting it ordered reprinted the Report of Condorcet and gave favorable attention to some of the provisions of a bill introduced by Lanthenas which followed closely the ideas of Condorcet. Danton declared that "next to bread, education is the first need of the people".¹⁵

A Committee on Public Instruction was appointed by the Convention October 2, 1792. This Committee decided to postpone action on other branches of public instruction and propose immediate attention only to the organization of primary schools, following closely on the lines proposed by Condorcet in regard to this, the first grade of instruction.¹⁶ A Bill by Lanthenas was presented to the Convention, the first article of which

¹⁴ Stewart, op. cit., p. 445.

¹⁵ Webster, op. cit., p. 1062.

¹⁶ Compayré, op. cit., p. 392.

was adopted December 12, 1792. It contained nothing original save his association of teacher-pupil in the work of instruction,

Teachers will call to their aid the pupils whose intelligence shall have made the most rapid progress; and they will thus be able, very easily, to give to four classes of pupils, in the same session, all the attention needed for their progress. At the same time, the efforts made by the most competent to teach what they know to their schoolmates, will be much more instructive to themselves than the lessons they receive from their masters.¹⁷

The idea of mutual instruction was not new in France. It was practised by Madame de Maintenon, Rollin, La Salle and others. Two Englishmen, Lancaster and Bell, have claimed the honor of inventing it!¹⁸ The fact is, they simply gave it currency, and it became a very popular mode of instruction in England from 1810-1830.¹⁹

Lanthenas proposed a standard French language for all France and would abolish particular idioms and dialects. National fetes would be celebrated to promote love of country. The men of this period, though at variance on many points, all agreed that national holidays and national festivals were extremely important in promoting education and in creating a love of the fatherland.²⁰ These were celebrated with great pageantry, parades, speeches, music, games, awards and many other highlights.

In his Report, Lanthenas stated that the appointment of teachers should be entrusted to the heads of families who were to elect one from a prepared

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 513-514.

¹⁹ Cubberley, op. cit., p. 628.

²⁰ Compayré, op. cit., p. 393.

list issued by a commission. The minimum salary of men teachers was to be fixed at six hundred francs.²¹

The Bill of Lanthenas did not become law and on December 20, 1792, another was introduced by Romme, a mathematician and deputy from Puy-de-Dôme, which embraced all four grades of instruction. No legislative measure followed the reading of this bill.²²

Hannah More (1745-1833), the English evangelist has included in her works some extracts from speeches presented to the Convention by citizens Dupont and Manuel on December 16, 1792, and January 26, 1793, respectively. These speeches were received with unanimous applause except for some clergy and may be fairly considered as an exposition of the creed of that assembly.

The following is an extract from Dupont's speech,

...Nature and Reason, these ought to be the gods of men! These are my gods! Admire nature, - cultivate reason - and you Legislators, if you desire that the French people should be happy, make haste to propagate these principles in your primary schools, instead of these fanatical principles which have hitherto been taught. The tyranny of kings was confined to make their people miserable in this life but those other tyrants, the priests extend their domination into another, of which they have no other idea than of eternal punishment in a doctrine which some men have hitherto had the good nature to believe....But the moment of the catastrophe has come - all these prejudices must fall at the same time. We must destroy them or they will destroy us.²³

The same vein of thought is expressed in Manuel's speech,

²¹Ibid., p. 392.

²²Ibid., p. 393.

²³Hannah More, The Works of Hannah More, vol. III (London: D. Grainsberry, 1803), pp. 417-418.

Religious faith, impressed on the mind of an infant seven years old will lead to perfect slavery; for dogmas at that age are only arbitrary commands....Hardly were children born before they fell into the hands of priests, who first blinded their eyes and then delivered them over to kings. Wherever kings cease to govern, priests must cease to educate.²⁴

Hannah More abhorred the "mischiefs" irreligion would produce in France and the wicked influence it might have on the English people. She feared the awesome day

When every man and every child with the principles professed in the Convention shall presume to say with his tongue what ever the fool has only dared to say in his heart, 'That there is no God'....Let France choose this day, whom she will serve, but as for us and our houses we will serve the Lord.²⁵

She prayed that God would change the hearts of the French people and bring them back to

A sense of law which they have violated and to a sense of mercy which they have abased, so that they may happily find that doubtless there is a reward for the righteous, verily, there is a God who judgeth the earth.²⁶

Up to May 30, 1793, there was nothing of note to be reported from the Convention on the work of educational reform save for the Bill of Rabaud-St. Étienne on public festivals and the Report of Abrogast on elementary books.²⁷ Rabaud represented the "Right", the Girondist faction in the Convention. He had also been a member of the Constituent Assembly. During the 'purge'

²⁴Ibid., p. 435.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 446-447.

²⁷Compayré, op. cit., p. 393.

of June 1792 he was among those arrested.²⁸

An important phase in the pedagogy of the Revolution was the attention given to the composition of elementary books. These books were to be placed in the hands of parents to enable them to "bring up their children".²⁹ This, one expects, refers to education rather than child-rearing as such. Application was made to distinguished writers including Abrogast to produce suitable elementary books. The latter proposed a decree to the Convention in which it was stated that

It is only the superior men in a science, or in an art, those who have sounded all its depths, and have carried it to its farthest limits, who are capable of composing such elementary treatises as are desirable.³⁰

The first decree of the Convention relative to primary schools was passed May 30, 1793. It contained nothing new and was soon forgotten in the bitter Girondist-Jacobin conflict. Thus ended the first phase of the National Convention.

²⁸ Stewart, op. cit., p. 445.

²⁹ Compayré, p. 394.

³⁰ Ibid.

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND PHASE OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION THE REIGN OF TERROR (June 3, 1793-July 28, 1794)

The Reign of Terror must be considered merely as one aspect of the Revolution, an aspect which assumed the form of emergency government in a crisis.¹ The Committee of Public Safety, already referred to in phase one of the Convention, dealt effectively with the foreign war and also with domestic insurrection. Its policy, however, was one of terrorism. A law was passed September 1793 which declared suspect every noble, every person who held office before the Revolution, or who had any dealings with an émigré, as also any person who could not produce a certificate of citizenship. The prisons were crowded and constantly men and women were being brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Acquittals were rare and the guillotine was the universal penalty.² Among the most notable victims was Queen Marie Antoinette. What is peculiarly ironic about the position of this government is that though its rule was based on the Revolutionary Tribunal and the guillotine, it professed to act in "the name of democracy and the sovereignty of the people".³

On June 24, 1793, the Constitution of the Year I, "provided France for the first time with a democratic, republican form of government - at least on paper".⁴ It was never put into effect. France endured the Reign

¹ Stewart, op. cit., p. 453.

² Webster, op. cit., p. 892.

³ Grant and Temperley, op. cit., p. 44.

⁴ Stewart, op. cit., p. 454.

of Terror for over a year. Then the Terror began to consume its own authors. Danton, who had wearied of bloodshed and counselled mercy and conciliation, was speedily tried and executed April 5, 1794. The fanatical Robespierre now became virtual dictator of France.⁵ The Reign of Terror could not cease. It rested primarily on fear, the fear that each political leader had of his rivals and of the possible consequences to himself.⁶ The number of victims rose rapidly. Eventually Paris wearied of the Terror, Robespierre's popularity declined and he too was led, "a strange and tragic figure", to the fate to which he had sent so many.⁷ The inevitable reaction against Jacobin tyranny followed. The bourgeoisie gained control of the National Convention and a second phase of its rule was ended.⁸ The sordid aspects of the Reign of Terror cause people to disregard an interesting feature of the period, that is the attention paid to cultural matters. If judged by the amount of legislation, this is perhaps the most prolific period of the Revolution.⁹ It is of value as a reflection of the aims and hopes of the people who produced it. That such things could be given consideration under the conditions which prevailed in France at the time is, in many respects, one of the most significant facts of the history of the Revolution.¹⁰

⁵Webster, op. cit., p. 454.

⁶Grant and Temperley, op. cit., p. 52.

⁷Ibid., p. 54.

⁸Webster, op. cit., pp. 892-893.

⁹Stewart, op. cit., p. 514.

¹⁰Ibid.

The Journal of Social Instruction was published June and July 1793, its chief authors being Sieyès, Condorcet and Duhamel. The aim of this publication was to lead all citizens out of "the labyrinth of political opinions and errors".¹¹ It expounded views on national education, ideas that were collected into a definite program. Sieyès felt it was time to provide

...for one of the most essential and most neglected needs of the Republic; let us hasten to re-establish education, but on a plan more natural, more national, more compatible with equality, truth and usefulness, more worthy, in a word, of our future destinies.¹²

To meet this need, Sieyès felt it would take 50,000 teachers working in 24,000 national schools with a teaching load of 3,600,000 children. This was his dream -- "an immense and entirely national establishment" under unitary regulation, using the same text-books and providing a system of uniform instruction.¹³

On June 26, 1793, Lakanal, the reporter for the Committee on Public Instruction of which Sieyès was chairman, read to the Convention a plan for establishing a national primary school system. This project summarized Sieyès' views on the subject, although Daunou also shared in its formation. However, it was attacked as aristocratic and bureaucratic, "the plan of the priest Sieyès, whose perfidy you know".¹⁴ Robespierre moved that a new commission be appointed to draw up a plan for national education. This was done. The Lakanal plan was completely shelved and Sieyès was

¹¹Van Deusen, op. cit., p. 54.

¹²Ibid., p. 101.

¹³Ibid., p. 102.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 55.

not represented on the new Committee.¹⁵

According to Lakanal's scheme, national schools were to be established, one to every thousand inhabitants - to provide for the children of France the education necessary to French citizens. These schools were to be controlled by a central commission under the immediate authority of the national legislature, in replica of the nation's political order. Instruction was to embrace "the intellectual, the physical, the moral and the industrial aspects of life".¹⁶ On special days the teachers were to give lectures on many varied subjects, such as rural economy, the social order etc. Special attention was to be given to military exercises for boys under the guidance of officers of the national guard. National officers were to be assigned to watch over the health of the children. Pupils were to take an active role in the celebration of national festivals. Promising students were to receive national aid. On public occasions the schoolmaster would wear a medal with the inscription, "He who instructs is a second father".¹⁷

To substitute for the Lakanal project, Robespierre presented to the Convention August 13, 1793, one which had been drawn up by Lepelletier de Saint Fargeau, prior to his death January 1793. Lepelletier, an esteemed member of the Convention, was assassinated by a royalist fanatic for having

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 100.

¹⁷Compayré, op. cit., p. 396.

voted for the death of Louis XVI.¹⁸ The "regicides" were to make capital out of the martyrdom. With his dying breath Lepelletier exclaimed,

I am satisfied to have given my life for my country.
I hope it will serve to consolidate liberty and equality,
and to cause their enemies to be discovered.¹⁹

As Lepelletier died for republicanism he also lived for it and in his bill he would have the people made over without the least possible delay into the image of extreme republicanism. Habit, tradition and sentiment, bequests of less enlightened days, were to be eliminated through the complete re-formation of the minds of the younger generation by means of a system closely resembling that which Lycurgus in ancient times proposed for Sparta.²⁰

All children, according to Lepelletier, were to be reared at public expense in National Schools, where they would all receive the same food, the same clothing, the same instruction and the same care. Parents were to be given no choice in this matter. The object of the instruction in these schools was

to strengthen the bodies of the children and to develop them through gymnastic exercises, to accustom them to hard work, to harden them against every kind of fatigue, to bend them to the yoke of a salutary discipline, to form their minds and hearts by means of suitable lessons, and to give them that information which is necessary to every citizen whatever may be his calling in life.²¹

¹⁸ Stewart, op. cit., p. 392.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 393.

²⁰ Reisner, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

²¹ Ibid., p. 26.

Children who exhibited special talents were allowed to proceed to higher education, the remainder were put to work at various trades or agriculture. The curriculum for the boys included reading, writing, elementary instruction in mensuration and surveying, also rural and household economy. The curriculum for the girls included reading, writing, arithmetic, rural and household economy, patriotic songs and some incidents of history.²²

The major part of each day was to be employed by the children in working with their hands, the boys at repairing roads, at trades and at farming, the girls at spinning, sewing and laundering. No domestic servants were to be employed. Gymnastic exercises with military training for the boys comprised the recreation periods.²³

Girls would remain in these establishments from the age of five to eleven, while boys remained from age five to fifteen. The wholesome, frugal food, the coarse garments, and the hard beds were designed to bring to the children "the habit of being able to do without comforts and luxuries", and implant in them "a contempt for artificial wants".²⁴

Included in the curriculum for the boys were the articles of the Constitution of their land, together with history relating to the most striking events of free peoples and the most glorious events of their own French Revolution. In his reference to free peoples, Lepelletier had in

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., pp. 26-27.

²⁴Ibid., p. 27.

mind both the British and the American. From across the channel, the spectacle of the Puritan Revolution and the "Glorious Revolution" in the seventeenth century affected Frenchmen in the eighteenth century. Charles I had been executed, James II had been expelled. The supremacy of the English Parliament had been established.²⁵

From across the Atlantic, after the War of American Independence, there returned to France the French common soldiers, together with their officers, including Lafayette, deeply imbued with republican sentiments. Benjamin Franklin who for nearly a decade represented the American Government in Paris was greatly esteemed by the French people. His portrait hung in many homes and at Republican festivals his bust figured side by side with that of Rousseau. "Homage to Franklin", declared an enthusiastic Frenchman. "He gave us our first lessons in liberty".²⁶

Even though the Bill of Lepelletier, sponsored by Robespierre received considerable support, it was referred to a Committee. The scheme was modified and in the final analysis it was proposed to establish a scheme of National Schools, while still allowing parents freedom to send their children to day schools instead, if they so desired.²⁷

The original plan of Lepelletier is scarcely more than a historical curiosity. The state must make the child in its own image.

In our system, the entire being of the child belongs to us; the material never leaves the mold....Whatever is to compose the Republic ought to be cast in the

²⁵Webster, op. cit., p. 869.

²⁶Ibid., p. 870.

²⁷Reisner, op. cit., p. 27.

Republican mold.²⁸

In regard to higher-primary instruction, secondary instruction and superior instruction, Lepelletier accepted Condorcet's plan, but his main concern was with the proletariat,

The Revolution of the past three years has done everything for the other classes of citizens and practically nothing for what is perhaps the most important, the proletarian citizens, whose only property is their labor. Feudalism is destroyed, but not for their benefit, for they own none of the liberated fields....Civil equality is restored but they have neither education nor instruction.²⁹

Robespierre was entirely in accord with the principles of Lepelletier. Speaking from the Tribune he said,

You will come some day to see the necessity of equal education for all Frenchmen. It is not a question now of educating gentlemen but of forming citizens. The state alone should bring up children; it cannot leave this work to family pride and private prejudice, for this is the regimen which produces aristocracy and domestic federalism. Souls become dwarfed by their isolation and the lack of equality destroys the very basis of the social order.³⁰

But the Lepelletier Bill, like the Constitution itself, was to remain only an aspiration.

The French Revolutionary educational formula of Lepelletier was to be diffused through National Schools, schools built by the state and run at the expense of the state, nurseries of republicanism, where loyalty to la Patrie was to be retained as a form of cult. Patriotism as a mass phenomenon, became a great emotional force in the following century and

²⁸Compayré, op. cit., p. 398.

²⁹Norman Hampson, A Social History of The French Revolution (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1963), p. 186.

³⁰Higgins, op. cit., p. 32.

national schools were perfected for nationalistic ends.³¹

Maintaining opinions closely related to those of Lepelletier was Louis Antoine de Saint-Just, a member of the Jacobin party in the National Convention, representing as he was the democratic republicanism of the proletariat. Stewart refers to him as an "extreme terrorist".³² He was executed with Robespierre and others on July 28, 1794, a day which marked "the defeat of sansculottism".³³

Saint-Just admitted that the child belongs to its mother until the age of five, but from then until death belongs to the Republic. Boys, up to the age of sixteen, were to be educated for the state and fed at the expense of the state, their diet consisting of grapes, fruit, bread, water, vegetables and milk. Their clothing was to be of cotton at all times of the year. Girls were to be brought up in their own homes.³⁴ Nothing definite in the way of execution issued from these extreme measures proposed by Saint-Just.

Another bill regarding the establishment of primary schools was presented on October 30, 1793 by Romme, a member of the Committee of Public Instruction. The bill had the honor of being passed, but it was not put into operation. Romme desired to see primary schools distributed throughout the Republic in proportion to the population. In these schools children were to receive "their earliest physical, moral and intellectual

³¹Mulhern, op. cit., p. 422.

³²Stewart, op. cit., p. 377.

³³Ibid., p. 521.

³⁴Compayré, op. cit., p. 399.

education, the best adapted to develop in them republican manners, love of country and taste for labour".³⁵ The curriculum would include speaking, writing and reading the French language, a knowledge of the rights of and duties of the man and of the citizen and, as well, the noteworthy events of the French Revolution. Also included in the curriculum would be the geography of France, elementary ideas of the natural objects surrounding them and of the natural action of the elements. Arithmetic would include the use of numbers, of the compass, the level, weights and measures, the lever, the pulley and the measurement of time. Children, according to Romme, should be allowed to witness the work in the fields and in the workshops and to take part in this type of employment.³⁶

A bill presented by Bouquier succeeded that of Romme. In December 1793, it was presented to the Convention, adopted and remained in force, until superseded by the revised Bill of Lakanal in November 1794. A member of the Jacobin party and deputy from Dordogne, Bouquier was highly educated. He based his scheme on the principles of the Constitution, "liberty, equality and simplicity".³⁷ To him, "simplicity" and "fraternity" must have appeared synonymous terms. The brotherhood of man meant a less complex society.

Bouquier would place teachers "under the immediate supervision of the municipality, of parents and of all the citizens". He would forbid them to teach anything "contrary to the laws and to republican morality".

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 400.

³⁷ Ibid.

Enforced school attendance was established by the Bouquier Law. Failure on the part of the parents to send their children to the primary schools, resulted in their being fined for the first offence -- the fine equalling a quarter of their school tax. For a second offence, the fine would be doubled and the children would be suspended for ten years from their rights as citizens. The obligation of citizens to work was also established. Young people who, on leaving the primary schools did not "busy themselves with the cultivation of the soil", would be required to learn a trade "useful for society".³⁸ Bouquier would have no scientific instruction.... "Free nations have no need of speculative scholars, whose minds are constantly travelling over desert paths".³⁹

Great stress was laid in the laws of the Revolutionary period upon the teaching of the French language in the schools. The possession of a uniform and generally understood language was of first importance for the development of a unified national consciousness and would also make it easier for people to understand the new legislation that was producing so many changes in France.⁴⁰ A law of January 24, 1794, provided for the appointment of teachers of the French language in each rural commune of several departments in which the low-Breton dialect and foreign languages were in common or practically exclusive use. These instructors were to teach the youth of both sexes the French language and the Declaration of

³⁸ Ibid., p. 401.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Reisner, op. cit., p. 27.

the Rights of Man and also to give public lectures in which they were to translate the laws of the Republic.⁴¹

The extreme radicals of the Reign of Terror were interested primarily in elementary education. Science, literature and philosophy were suspect along with wealth. Higher education was thought to perpetuate inequality and was therefore looked upon with distrust. Demands were made that no colleges should be allowed to exist and that no one should hold an appointment as professor for life.

It is not necessary to revise the aristocracy of learned men and philosophers when we wish a democracy of sansculottes; it is not necessary to give the town the advantage over the country; when we have a civil code favoring the common people we shall have no need of attorneys, advocates and learned men.⁴²

With Robespierre's death, the personification of the Terror was also removed. It was time to return to "normalcy". A period of reaction set in, in what is called, The Thermidorian Reaction, the third phase of the National Convention.⁴³

⁴¹Reisner, op. cit., p. 28.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Stewart, op. cit., p. 537.

CHAPTER VIII

THE THIRD PHASE OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION THE THERMIDORIAN REACTION (July 29, 1794-October 26, 1795)

A decided shift back to moderate political principles occurred in the Thermidorian phase of the National Convention and this was in accord with the general feeling of the nation as a whole.¹ The bourgeoisie gained control of the Convention which now resumed its task of preparing a Constitution for Republican France. The new instrument of government provided for a legislature of two chambers and vested the executive authority in a Directory of five members, who possessed most of the powers of the former Committee of Public Safety.² In June, they reported in favor of an entirely new Constitution to supplant the "constitution of anarchy, dictated by tyranny and accepted by fear" in the days of 1793 and now deemed unworkable.³ The final draft was completed and came into effect on October 26, 1795.

As in the first two phases of the Convention, so during the Thermidorian Reaction, legislation on cultural and social matters continued apace. The enduring work of the Convention was in the field of education. Whatever the shortcomings of individual efforts in this connection, the fact remains that it was impressive and much of it took form under the Thermidorians.⁴

¹Reisner, op. cit., p. 28.

²Webster, op. cit., p. 893.

³Stewart, op. cit., p. 571.

⁴Ibid., pp. 612-613.

The prevailing attitude towards education during the third phase of the Convention corresponded with the underlying bourgeois character of the political leadership, which in spite of glowing affirmation of its devotion to the principle of equality, rallied instinctively in critical moments to the defence of its class interests. Its almost exclusive concern in education was for the organization of institutions of higher learning, through which its regime would be supported and its hold on the liberal professions and official careers guaranteed.⁵

The Lakanal Law passed November 17, 1794, openly broke with the tendencies of Robespierre and his colleagues. It provided an education bill similar in spirit and in its principal provisions to the former one which went down to defeat during the early days of the Terror.⁶ Lakanal's highest title to glory is that he associated his name with the foundation of the *École Normale*. The term "normale" or "normal" was explained by Lakanal as coming from the Latin "norma" meaning a model or rule, thus connoting that the object of the *école normale* was to give teachers rules for teaching.⁷ The English term, normal school, is borrowed directly from the *école normale* of the Convention and was transferred to England in the 1830's. Roebuck in 1833 urged the importance of creating "normal schools" for training school masters. With the translation of Cousin's Report on the State of Public Education in Prussia in 1834 and Calvin E. Stowe's Report on Prussian Schools in 1837, the use of the term Normal

⁵ Allen, op. cit., vol. 4. p. 275.

⁶ Compayré, op. cit., p. 402.

⁷ Harry Rivlin (ed.), Encyclopedia of Modern Education (New York: F. Hubner and Company, 1943), p. 545.

School as distinctive became quite general. It was first applied in the U.S. in 1839 when the first state normal school was established at Lexington, Massachusetts.⁸

The idea of establishing pedagogical institutions was not absolutely new, but the Convention gave practical effect to what had been up to now more or less a vague aspiration. These are some of Lakanal's words to the Convention:

...In being the first to decree normal schools, you have resolved to create in advance a very large number of teachers, capable of being the executors of a plan whose purpose is the regeneration of the human understanding, in a republic of twenty-five million of men, all of whom democracy renders equal.⁹

To accomplish his purpose Lakanal proposed to assemble at Paris under the direction of eminent masters, a considerable number of young men, called from all parts of the Republic, designated "by their talents and by their state of citizenship", so the "fountain of enlightenment, so pure and so abundant, ...will diffuse itself from place to place throughout all France, without losing anything of its purity in its course".¹⁰

At the end of the course in Paris the pupil-teachers would return to their respective districts and open in each of the three chief towns of the canton, a Normal School "designed to transmit to the men and women citizens, who wish to devote themselves to public instruction, the method

⁸Paul Monroe (ed.), A Cyclopedia of Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), IV, p. 481.

⁹Compayré, op. cit., p. 405.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 406.

of teaching they have learned in the Normal School at Paris".¹¹

The Normal School of Paris opened January 20, 1795, but after an "ephemeral existence", survived only four months. The reasons for its decline were many. There were too many pupils, approximately four hundred, who were admitted without competitive tests and "abandoned to themselves in Paris".¹² The literary talent or scientific genius of the professors did not lend itself sufficiently to the requirements of a normal course of instruction and of a practical pedagogy. Daunou reported that the lectures "were directed rather towards the heights of science than towards the art of teaching".¹³ The idea of establishing provincial normal schools was not carried out. In 1808, Napoleon recreated the normal school, on "a less pretentious and more useful scale" and since then it has continued and rendered useful service as a training-school for teachers for the higher secondary schools of France.¹⁴

The attention of the Convention was also directed to the reorganization of secondary education. By a decree of February 25, 1795, on the report of Lakanal, Central Schools were to be established to replace the former collèges with a more comprehensive and rational curriculum, embracing Greek, Latin, literature, drawing, the physical sciences, mathematics, the moral sciences, grammar, history and politics, also an elementary knowledge of the arts and trades, agriculture and commerce.

¹¹Stewart, op. cit., p. 616.

¹²Reisner, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

¹³Compayré, loc. cit.

¹⁴Cubberley, op. cit., p. 517.

The course of studies was to take six years; the minimum age limit for matriculation was twelve.¹⁵

As is evident, these schools were designed primarily for the privately-educated children of the bourgeoisie; matriculation being beyond the abilities of those whose education was confined to ordinary primary schools.¹⁶ By 1800, ninety-one of these Central Schools had been established. Lakanal, who acted somewhat in the capacity of Minister of Education in the establishment of these institutions, became himself a professor in one of those in Paris.¹⁷

The great defect of the Central Schools was in the crowded program -- "a medley of studies". Because of the very secular nature of the schools and their radically new curriculum, only small numbers of pupils enrolled.¹⁸ The lack of competent teachers, the absence of effective supervision and the insecurity of the times, caused the Central Schools to operate without great success until they were displaced by Napoleon May 1, 1802, when secondary education was reorganized in France.¹⁹

In gloomy contrast with their zeal for higher learning the Thermidorians showed indifference towards elementary education. The revised bill of Lakanal, Daunou and Sièyes, "one of the best educational proposals

¹⁵ Cubberley, loc. cit.

¹⁶ Norman Hampson, A Social History of the French Revolution (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 240.

¹⁷ Allen, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 272.

¹⁸ Compayré, op. cit., p. 407.

¹⁹ Reisner, op. cit., p. 31.

of the Revolution", was decreed on November 17, 1794, and called for the establishment of a primary school for every one thousand inhabitants.²⁰ Each primary school was to be divided into two sections, one for boys and one for girls; "accordingly there shall be one man teacher and one woman teacher".²¹ The teachers were to be chosen by the people, but they were to be examined, selected and supervised by a jury of instruction, who would then submit the names of those appointed to the district administration.²² Teachers were required to teach their pupils by means of the elementary books written and published by order of the National Convention. They were forbidden to give special lessons to any of their pupils because "the teacher owes his entire self to all". A pension was to be provided by the nation to those teachers who were retiring from the profession after long years of service. Salaries of men teachers were to exceed those of women.²³

Pupils were not to be admitted to primary schools before the age of six years. They were to be instructed in the three R's, the rules of simple calculation and land measurement, the elements of geography, instruction concerning the major natural phenomena, the most common natural resources, the history of free peoples. They were also to be taught the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, the Constitution of the French Republic, a miscellany of heroic deeds and triumphant songs.

²⁰Stewart, op. cit., p. 616.

²¹Ibid., p. 617.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., p. 618.

Extra-curricular activities were to include swimming, military exercises (for boys), gymnastic exercises, visiting alms-houses, aiding old people and "defenders of la Patrie" in their work in both house and field. They were also to visit factories and shops, "so they would have some idea of the benefits of human industry and would acquire a taste for the useful arts".²⁴

In respect to primary education, Lakanal had given much thought to the composition of elementary books and treatises for the use of children,

Simplicity in form and artless grace should there be mingled with accuracy of ideas;...such a work should be conceived by a profound logician and executed by a man of feeling. There should be found in it, so to speak, the analytical mind of Condillac and the soul of Fénelon.²⁵

Having given much thought to pedagogical methods, he was convinced that ideas could not reach the understanding except through the medium of the senses.²⁶ In regard to higher education, Lakanal did not wish scientific culture to do prejudice to literary culture,

For a long time we have neglected the belles-lettres, and some men who wish to be considered profound, regard this study as useless. It is letters, however, which open the intelligence to the light of reason, and the heart to impressions of sentiment. They substitute morality for interest, give pupils polish, exercise their judgment, make them more sensitive and at the same time more obedient to the laws, more capable of grand virtues.²⁷

Formed also on the basis of the Lakanal Report, was the Museum of Natural History, organized in accordance with the plan of the disting-

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 618-619.

²⁵ Compayré, op. cit., p. 403.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 404.

uished naturalist Lamarck. This institution of higher learning constituted twelve chairs, including some branches of instruction which were entirely new in France, such as mineralogy, geology, comparative anatomy and zoology.²⁸

The Thermidorians gave proof of their versatility and intelligence. In quick succession several special schools were established. Recognizing the value of technical arts, the Convention proposed to create an organization which would encourage the genius of eminent scientists and secure their service for the welfare of the country. The plan for a Central School for Public Services had already been adopted by the Convention March 1794, but a decree for the organization of this school later known as the Polytechnic School or school of many sciences, was elaborated by the chemist Fourcroy and passed October 22, 1795. Its curriculum embraced the courses of applied sciences or engineering indispensable for the undertakings of peace and war.²⁹

Other schools dedicated exclusively to public service were to be maintained by the Republic. These included Artillery Schools, Schools of Military Engineering, School of Roads and Bridges, School of Mines, School of Geographers, School of Naval Engineers, Schools of Navigation, Marine Schools. Students in the schools of public services were to be paid for by the State. It is worthy of note that those who manifested anti-republican tendencies would be excluded from such schools.³⁰

²⁸ Allen, op. cit., vol. IV. p. 271.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 270.

³⁰ For complete information on the instruction and regulation of these schools see Stewart, op. cit., pp. 625-635.

On August 3, 1795, by a decree of the Convention it was proposed to establish a Conservatory of Music. This institution was created primarily to "provide a republican agency for the training of musicians to sing the new republican songs and to play them in military bands".³¹ It later assumed a broader educational function. France up to this time had not possessed any comparable institution.³²

Designed to foster the development of applied science, especially in industry, a decree of October 10, 1794, proposed to establish a Conservatory of Arts and Crafts. This decree was the result of a report by Henri Grégoire, who ranks as one of the leading educators of the period. He held office in the National Constituent Assembly, represented the "Plain" in the Convention and was one of those who voted the abolition of the Monarchy.³³ This Conservatory was to be a depository of "machines, models, tools, designs, descriptions and books on all kinds of arts and crafts". It was to be composed of three demonstrators and one designer. This Conservatory was to prove one of the most enduring of the Convention's creations.³⁴

Official instruction in medicine was reorganized, December 1794, and three Schools of Medicine were established, at Paris, Strasbourg and Montpellier.³⁵ A Commission for the preservation of all objects of docu-

³¹Ibid., p. 622.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., p. 613.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Allen, op. cit., p. 271.

mentary and antiquarian importance in connection with the arts, sciences, letters and history was also established.³⁶ Other representative endeavors included a School of Living Oriental Languages (March 30, 1795), Veterinary Schools (April 21, 1795), Bureau of Longitude (June 29, 1795), The National Library (October 17, 1795), Museum of Archeological Monuments (October 20, 1795). Of the numerous creations of the Convention, the greater number remain and still flourish.³⁷

If the French Revolution concluded as it began, with the recognition of the full political rights of the upper and middle classes and the denial in participation in political life to the laboring classes of the population, the course of educational policy followed closely the political.³⁸ The educational work of the Convention ended with a decree concerning the organization of public education on October 25, 1795, Daunou being its principal author.³⁹ Judged by many people as the most serious effort of the Revolution, it cancelled "with a few strokes of the pen the grand revolutionary principles in the matter of education, - the gratuity, the obligation and the universality of instruction".⁴⁰

At an earlier period in his life, Daunou had taught philosophy in the collèges of the Oratorians, of whom he was a member. In 1789 he published the Journal Encyclopédique, a plan of national education, which he pre-

³⁶ Ibid., p. 273.

³⁷ Cubberley, op. cit., p. 518.

³⁸ Reisner, op. cit., p. 29.

³⁹ Stewart, op. cit., p. 635.

⁴⁰ Compayré, op. cit., p. 409.

sented to the National Constituent Assembly in 1790. In the Convention he took an active part in the work of the Committee on Public Instruction and assisted in the preparation of Lakanal's first bill.⁴¹

Title I of the decree of October 1795 relates to primary schools. The curriculum was confined to the three R's and the elements of republican morality. The number of primary schools was reduced.⁴² Teachers were no longer to receive a salary from the state but rather an annual contribution from the pupils, said contribution to be determined by the departmental administration. The municipal administration could exempt one-quarter of the pupils of each primary school from such contribution because of indigence. The teacher would be furnished by the state with premises which were to serve both as a lodging and as a school. He was generously provided with an adjoining garden!⁴³

In relation to primary schools the Convention terminated its work "in a mean conception which thinned out the schools, which impoverished the programs, which plunged the teacher anew into a precarious state of existence, which put him anew at the mercy of his pupils".⁴⁴ The principle of compulsory primary education which had been adopted in the Reign of Terror was now annulled, thus perpetuating a fundamental defect in the educational system of France which was not rectified until the coming of the Third Republic.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 395.

⁴²Ibid., p. 410.

⁴³Stewart, op. cit., p. 636.

⁴⁴Compayré, loc. cit.

Daunou's ardor for the masses cooled considerably. His cast of mind was essentially aristocratic. Eric Hoffer believes there is considerable evidence to prove that when the militant intellectual succeeds in establishing a social order in which his craving for a superior status and social usefulness is fully satisfied, "his view of the masses darkens and from being their champion he becomes their detractor".⁴⁵ According to Renan (after 1870) the purpose of an ideal order is less to produce enlightened masses than uncommon people. "If ignorance of the masses is a necessary condition for this end, so much the worse for the masses".⁴⁶ Renan's ideas on popular education were comparable to those of the Thermidorians who showed a growing indifference to the needs of the proletariat. The lack of any assured means of support for teachers caused inferior and unworthy people to take charge of the schools. Lack of enthusiasm on the part of parents to send their children to school caused many of the buildings to be deserted. To introduce anew into the laws of France the principles of gratuity, obligation and secularization as proclaimed by the second phase of the Convention, close to a century was necessary.⁴⁷ Less than a decade (1882) saw the establishment of a compulsory primary school system.

Title II of the decree concerning the organization of public education referred to the Central Schools already in operation. These were re-

⁴⁵Eric Hoffer, The Ordeal of Change (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 48.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Compayré, op. cit., p. 522.

organized at an annual cost to the state of two and a half million francs.⁴⁸ Other special schools were to be established for the study of astronomy, geometry and mechanics, natural history, medicine, veterinary medicine, rural economy, antiquities, political science, painting, sculpture, and architecture and music. Schools for deaf mutes and for the blind were also to be established.⁴⁹

Daunou also proposed the re-organization of the old academies on a new and systematic plan to form The National Institute of Arts and Sciences. These former academies had been distinct and unconnected. They were to be replaced by a single body divided into sections or classes corresponding to the general departments of intellectual activity. The Institute would consist of one hundred forty-four members living in Paris and as many more distributed among the different regions of the Republic. There were to be twenty-four foreign associates. The function of the Institute was to promote learning through scientific research, publication and correspondence with learned societies in foreign lands.⁵⁰

To conclude the decree it was proposed to establish seven national holidays which would be celebrated by "patriotic songs, speeches on civic morality, fraternal banquets, divers public games and the distribution of awards".⁵¹ These awards would be bestowed on students who had distinguished themselves in the arts, or in useful discoveries and inventions.

⁴⁸ Stewart, op. cit., p. 636.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 638.

⁵⁰ Allen, op. cit., p. 274.

⁵¹ Stewart, op. cit., pp. 641-642.

Awards would also be granted to those who performed "noble deeds" or who constantly practised "domestic and social virtues".⁵²

The Convention lasted a little over three years. In the midst of the most violent conflicts, fanaticisms and dangers, it was ever mindful of its duty of forming the institutions of future society.⁵³ In its passionate and extravagant desire for liberty its rule ended and what Edmund Burke had prophesied in a splendid passage of the Reflections was about to come true -- a soldier dictator in the person of Napoleon Bonaparte was to supplant militarism for democracy,

In the weakness of one kind of authority, and in the fluctuation of all, the officers of an army will remain for some time mutinous and full of faction, until some popular general, who understands the art of conciliating the soldiery...shall draw the eyes of all men upon himself. Armies will obey him on his personal account.... But the moment in which that event shall happen, the person who really commands the army is your master, the master of your king, the master of your assembly, the master of your whole republic.⁵⁴

⁵² Ibid., p. 641.

⁵³ Allen, op. cit., p. 269.

⁵⁴ Edmund Burke, Reflections on the Revolution in France, as cited by Grant and Temperley, op. cit., p. 60.

CHAPTER IX

THE LEGACY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENTS, 1789-1795

Diversity of opinion concerning the French Revolution exists, because the movement produced a schism in French life and institutions so pronounced, that, as yet, apparently not enough time has elapsed to bring about the reconciliation of opposing factions. We still have to-day, those who cherish the Revolution and those who abhor it, those who praise it and those who condemn it.¹ Because of this diversity, many writers of general treatises on the period omit a conclusion, presumably leaving the reader scope to establish his own.²

This work would probably be incomplete without a concluding chapter, because despite the rapid changes and complete instability of the period in question, despite the pictures presented to us depicting orgies of diabolical destruction, The Revolution did in fact achieve positive results in the broad field of educational reform.

To the Revolution, France owes not only the first outlines of a system of primary, secondary and university education, but such famous institutions as The National Archives, the Conservatory of Music, the Polytechnic School, the Museum of Natural History and the Conservatory of Arts and Crafts.³ The directions of future progress in educational organization were clearly marked out before Napoleon came to power, and

¹ Stewart, op. cit., p. 784.

² Ibid., p. 783.

John Lough, An Introduction to Eighteenth Century France (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1960), p. 322.

the work which he did was largely an extension, and a reduction to working order, of what had been proposed or established by the enthusiasts of the pre-revolutionary periods.⁴

The ideas of the French writers and political reformers of the period regarding the organization of education may be summed up as follows. Education must be taken out of the hands of the Church and be wholly controlled by lay administration. Education must be universal. All were in favour of public enlightenment. There were diverse opinions, however, regarding free schooling and mandatory attendance. The objectives of education were radically revised in accordance with the philosophy of the day. Civic replaced religious and humanistic virtues. Emphasis was placed on enlightenment, the development of a national spirit, fraternity, the ability to guard one's own rights and to serve the state in civil offices. In keeping with the assertion that public instruction is a civil affair, instruction was to be secularized.⁵

A number of other features were demanded: freedom of teaching, uniformity of instruction for all classes, adult education and scholarships for poor but talented students. Freedom of teaching guaranteed the right of free inquiry and the prohibition of every monopoly which would arrest the development of new truths and new theories. The lack of textbooks was frequently mentioned. The revision of the curriculum received marked attention.⁶ The Revolution had eliminated many age-old abuses and

⁴Cubberley, op. cit., p. 588.

⁵Eby, op. cit., pp. 577-578.

⁶Ibid., p. 580.

privileges and had established the principle of representative government. The Constitution of 1791 had given political rights to the tax-paying property-owning portion of the Third-Estate. The radical developments of the Legislative Assembly and the Convention were only temporary and the Constitution of 1795, like that of 1791, placed political power in the hands of the bourgeoisie, leaving without the right of suffrage the vast majority composed of the laboring and agricultural population. The educational development followed very closely the political. Talleyrand's Bill was more generous in its provision for the education of the proletariat than Daunou's Bill of 1795, but the former wrote under the passionate enthusiasm of the early days, while the latter had behind him sordid memories of the Commune and the Terror.⁷

In examining the various projects proposed during the period 1789-1795, it is true to say that apart from many diverse principles, their authors had one thing in common, that is, to control, through education, the outlook and the attitudes of French youth in the interest of national unity. From the first, it was recognized, that in order to have a nation, there had to be developed among the people who composed it, a common possession of knowledge, tradition, habits, loves, hates and ideals. To that end it was seen that schools had to be established throughout France and that in order to have a system of schools teaching all the people the materials desired, there had to be organized a nation-wide system of educational administration.⁸

⁷Reisner, op. cit., p. 40.

⁸Ibid., p. 41.

However, in examining the various projects a little closer, one finds that wide differences lay in the methods chosen by their author for accomplishing this cultural unification. Condorcet's plan literally included the education of everybody and contemplated developing each to the highest point of efficiency for the service of the common national and human destiny. Lepelletier would limit the expression of individual differences and eradicate social distinctions, thus attempting to create national solidarity and cohesion after the extreme Republican pattern. Daunou was concerned chiefly with the youth of the upper and middle classes, to whom would be given a common basis of knowledge and political sympathy, to enable them to become active political constituents of France. Only their education alone was regarded by Daunou and his bourgeois colleagues as nationally significant.⁹

That the men of the Revolution were only dreamers and idealists is questionable. In the view of many impartial observers, a new period was then opened in education. The rights of the individual, and therefore of the child, were accorded recognition. The idea of individual merit supplanted that of hereditary privilege. Every child was to be given the opportunity to make use of all the talents he possessed. It is not that these men were educators in the strict sense of the term. The science of education is not indebted to them for new methods, but they were the first to attempt a legislative organization of a vast system of public instruction. One may call them "educational statesmen". True, they lacked the time for applying their ideas, but they had at least the honor of having conceived

⁹ Ibid., pp. 41-42.

these ideas and of having embodied them in legislative acts.¹⁰ During the years 1789-1795 there was study and exposition of many of the problems that were later to be raised in future generations. Those who follow the long series of reports and decrees which constitute the pedagogical work of the Revolution will have witnessed "the genesis of popular instruction" in France.¹¹

If the French Revolutionary governments did in fact lack the time for the actual accomplishment of what they dreamed for la Patrie, they inspired a dynamic opportunist in the person of Napoleon who "found the crown of France lying on the ground and picked it up with the sword".¹² The interest of Napoleon was not in primary or general education, but rather in training pupils for scientific and technical efficiency and youths of superior ability for the professions and for executive work in the kind of government he imposed upon France. To this end, secondary and special education were made particular functions of the State, while primary education was left to the communes to provide as they saw fit. Communal Collèges and Lycées were to replace the Central Higher Schools which had been established 1795. Special faculties or schools for higher education were created. The State had definitely dispossessed the Church as the controlling agency in education and had taken over the school as an instrument for its own ends. The dominant characteristics of the

¹⁰Compayré, op. cit., p. 363.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 363-364.

¹²Webster, op. cit., p. 896.

state educational system created by Napoleon were its uniformity and centralized control. In this regard, his most remarkable educational achievement was the creation of the University of France, which was designed to be "a governing, examining and disbursing corporation", presided over by a Grand Master and a Council of twenty-six members, all appointed by Napoleon himself.¹³ When his final defeat came in 1815, the educational organization which he had developed became, almost without change, the servant of the Restoration government.¹⁴

In the revolutionary years written declarations guaranteed to the individual the rights which were regarded as natural - life, liberty, security and the pursuit of happiness. The formal recognition of these rights was an immense step forward in the long struggle for human freedom. When the Revolution had finally spent itself, Frenchmen found themselves living in a country officially secular, a country which had disestablished the Church. A permanent new social elite had arisen from the cultural aristocracy of the middle classes of the arts and the sciences, the professions and the business world, from the bourgeoisie that had begun the Revolution in 1789.

The grievances that men of affairs had voiced in the cahiers, the Revolution in large measure satisfied. The virtual teaching monopoly of the Church was broken in the early days of the revolutionary struggle when lofty reform projects were drawn up for national education. Not until late in 1795, in the closing days of the Thermidorian Reaction,

¹³ Cubberley, op. cit., pp. 591-594.

¹⁴ Reisner, op. cit., p. 40.

however, did the deputies finally reorganize the educational system. By then revolutionary idealism was clouded with fear of popular democracy. The provisions for higher instruction and specialized studies seem outstanding but the reactionaries who had come from the cultural elite were attempting to save their priceless heritage in the field of arts and science.

Such glories of nineteenth-century France as the Museum of the Louvre, the National Library and the National Archives were all established by the revolutionary state. To the Revolution, France also owes the creation of other famous institutions such as the Conservatory of Music, the Conservatory of Arts and Crafts, the École Polytechnique, and the remarkable research center of the Museum of Natural History. The years of political unrest saw the work of Laplace, Condorcet and Monge in the field of mathematics and physics; of Lamarck, Cuvier and Saint-Hilaire in botany and zoology; of Lavoisier and Bertholet in chemistry.¹⁵ The Academy of Sciences was abolished but most of its members took their seats in the Institute of France which replaced it.

The French Revolution helped develop modern nationalism. The Revolutionists created the "Motherland", as we understand the term today. They substituted the French nation for the French kingdom; for loyalty to a monarch they substituted love of country. To the inspiring strain of the Marseillaise they drove the invaders from the "sacred soil" of France.¹⁶

¹⁵Gershoy, op. cit., p. 101.

¹⁶Webster, op. cit., p. 917.

As a crusade for universal good the Revolution could not be confined within the territorial limits of any one state. If not universal, at least it was west European in its appeal. Never again was west Europe able to continue along the path of the Old Regime -- always she was to be diverted from that course by the spirit of the French Revolution.¹⁷

¹⁷Stewart, op. cit., pp. 790-791.

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APPENDIX A
PERSONALITIES

PERSONALITIES

Abrogast c. 1790
Acton, Lord 1834-1902
Bailly 1736-1793
Bouquier c. 1790
Burke, Edmund 1729-1797
Cabanis 1757-1808
Condillac 1715-1780
Condorcet 1743-1794
Cousin, Victor 1792-1867
Danton 1759-1794
Daunou 1761-1840
Desmoulins 1760-1794
Diderot 1713-1817
Dupont 1739-1817
Duruy, Victor 1811-1894
Fénelon 1651-1715
Grégoire 1750-1831
Guizot 1787-1874
Helvetius 1715-1771
Hobbes 1588-1679
La Chalotais 1701-1785
La Salle 1651-1719
Laborde de Merville c. 1790
Lafayette 1757-1834
Lakanal 1768-1845

Lamarck 1744-1829

Lancaster 1778-1838

Lanthenas c. 1790

Lepelletier 1760-1793

Locke 1632-1704

Louis XVI 1754-1793

Madame de Maintenon 1635-1719

Marat 1743-1793

Marie Antoinette 1755-1793

Mirabeau 1749-1791

Montesquieu 1689-1755

More, Hannah 1745-1833

Napoleon 1769-1821

Newton, Isaac 1642-1727

Rabaut de Saint-Étienne 1743-1793

Renan, Ernest 1823-1892

Robespierre 1758-1794

Roland 1734-1793

Rollin 1661-1741

Romme c. 1790

Rousseau 1712-1778

Saint-Just 1767-1794

Sieyès 1748-1836

Stowe, Calvin E. 1802-1886

Talleyrand 1754-1838

Turgot 1721-1781

Voltaire 1694-1778

APPENDIX B
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS REGARDING EDUCATION

DATES POLITICAL EVENTS CULTURAL EVENTS

1642-1700 English Civil War 1642-1649
Louis XIV, King of France 1643-1715
Execution of Charles I of England 1649

The Glorious Revolution in England 1688-9
Flight of James II of England 1689
English Bill of Rights 1689

1701-1775 Louis XV King of France 1715-1774

Newton's Law 1687

Locke's Of Civil Government 1690

Montesquieu's The Spirit of the Laws 1748

The Encyclopédie 1751-72

Condillac's Course of Study c. 1757

Voltaire's Candide 1759

Rousseau's Emile 1762

Rousseau's Social Contract 1762

La Chalotais' Essay on Eudcation 1763

Mémoires of University of Paris 1763-1764

Rolland's Report 1768

Helvétius' Treatise on Man published 1772

Turgot's Mémoires 1775

Expulsion of Jesuits from France 1764

Louis XVI King of France 1774-1792

| DATES | POLITICAL EVENTS | CULTURAL EVENTS | LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS REGARDING EDUCATION |
|-------|--|---|---|
| 1776 | Revolt of the American Colonies 1776-83 Declaration of Independence 1776 Alliance of France with American Colonists 1778 Constitution of U.S. framed 1787 | Diderot's <u>Plan of a University</u> c. 1776 Adam Smith's <u>Wealth of Nations</u> 1776 | |
| 1778 | | | |
| 1787 | | | |
| 1789 | French Revolution 1789-1799 <u>The Estates-General</u> (July 5, 1788-June 27, 1789) Cahiers prepared, spring 1789 Convening of Estates-General May 1789 Commons voted for the 'National Assembly' June 17, 1789 <u>National Constituent Assembly</u> (June 28, 1789-Sept. 30, 1791) | Writings of Sieyès Discourses of Mirabeau <u>Daunou's Journal</u> <u>Encyclopédique</u> <u>Declaration of the Rights</u> <u>of Man</u> , August 27, 1789 | Report of Talleyrand Commission of Public Instruction established |
| 1790 | Fall of the Bastille July 14, 1789 Feudalism abolished August 4, 1789 Royal Family moved from Versailles to the Tuileries in Paris Oct. 6, 1789 'Emigration' beginning Decree confiscating Church property, April 17, 1790 Decree abolishing hereditary nobility and titles, June 19, 1790 Flight of Royal Family to Varennes, June 20, 1791 | | |
| 1791 | | | |

| DATES | POLITICAL EVENTS | CULTURAL EVENTS | LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS REGARDING EDUCATION |
|-------|--|---|---|
| 1791 | <p>Order for arrest of Royal Family, June 21, 1791</p> <p><u>Legislative Assembly</u> (Oct. 1, 1791-Sept. 20, 1792)</p> | <p>Constitution of 1791 (September 4)</p> | <p>Condorcet's <u>Report on General Organization of Public Instruction</u>, April 20-21, 1792</p> |
| 1792 | <p>Foreign War begins 1792</p> <p>Assault on the Tuileries, June 20, 1792</p> <p>The rise of the Jacobins</p> <p>France declared to be in danger from foreign enemies July 11, 1792</p> <p>Invasion of the Tuileries, August 10, 1792</p> <p>Massacre of Swiss Guard</p> <p>The Fall of the Monarchy</p> <p>September massacres of suspected enemies of the Revolution 1792</p> <p>Victory of Allies seemed assured</p> <p>French victory at Valmy a turning point, Sept. 20, 1792</p> <p>Elections for new Convention September 1792</p> <p><u>First Phase of the National Convention</u> (Sept. 20, 1792-June 2, 1793)</p> <p>Monarchy declared abolished Sept. 21, 1792</p> <p>Republic established Sept. 22, 1792</p> <p>King's indictment presented Dec. 11, 1792</p> | | <p>Bill of Lanthenas Dec. 12, 1792</p> |

| DATES | POLITICAL EVENTS | CULTURAL EVENTS | LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS REGARDING EDUCATION |
|-------|--|---|---|
| 1793 | <p>Execution of King Louis XVI January 21, 1793</p> <p>Britain at war with France</p> <p>Series of important victories for France France declared war on Holland February 1, 1793</p> <p>Spain joined allies French military reverses Counter-revolt in La Vendée Revolutionary Tribunal appointed March 29, 1793</p> <p>The Committee of Public Safety April 6, 1793</p> <p>Rising of Paris proletariat demanding arrest of Girondists as enemies of the Revolution May 31 and June 2, 1793</p> <p>Fall of the Girondists</p> <p><u>The Reign of Terror</u> (July 3, 1793-July 28, 1794)</p> <p>Counter-revolts</p> <p>Crisis for France in foreign war</p> <p>Committee of Public Safety reorganized July 10, 1793</p> | <p>Robespierre's proposed Declaration of Rights April 24, 1793</p> <p>The Constitution of June 1793 (or Constitution of the Year I)</p> | <p>Bill of Romme</p> <p>Bill of Rabaud St-Étienne Report of Abrogast Dec. 24, 1792</p> <p>Decree relative to Primary Schools May 30, 1793</p> <p>Bill of Lakanal, June 26, 1793 Daunou's <u>Essay on</u> <u>Public Instruction</u></p> <p>Plan of Lepelletier July 13, 1793</p> |

| DATES | POLITICAL EVENTS | CULTURAL EVENTS | LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS REGARDING EDUCATION |
|-------|---|---|--|
| 1793 | <p>Military reorganization--conscription</p> <p>The Law of Suspects Sept. 17, 1793</p> <p>Execution of Marie Antoinette</p> <p>Execution of a large number of Girondists</p> <p>Victory for France in foreign war following autumn 1793</p> | <p>Decree establishing the French Era Oct. 5, 1793</p> <p>Decree establishing the New Calendar Nov. 24, 1793</p> <p>Constitution of The Terror Dec. 4, 1793</p> <p>Museum or Conservatory of Arts Jan. 16, 1794</p> | <p>Saint-Just's <u>Institutions</u> <u>Republicaines</u></p> <p>Romme Law Oct. 30, 1793</p> <p>Decree concerning Public Education--Bouquier Law,</p> |
| 1794 | <p>Jacobins bitterly divided, execution of Danton April 5, 1794</p> <p>Robespierre head of Convention June 8, 1794</p> <p>Procedure of Revolutionary Tribunal quickened--numerous executions, June 10, 1794</p> <p>Fall of Robespierre, July 27, 1794</p> <p><u>The Thermidorian Reaction</u> (July 29, 1794-Oct. 26, 1795)</p> | | |

| DATES | POLITICAL EVENTS | CULTURAL EVENTS | LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS REGARDING EDUCATION |
|-------|--|--|--|
| | Committee of Public Safety restricted in authority Sept. 1, 1794 | Conservatory of Arts and Crafts, Oct. 10, 1794 | Decree establishing Normal Schools Oct. 30, 1794 |
| | Jacobin Club closed Nov. 12, 1794 | New Medical Schools Dec. 4, 1794 | |
| | Executions diminished | Museum of Natural History Dec. 11, 1794 | |
| | Remaining imprisoned Girondists freed | Normal School of Paris opened Jan. 20, 1795 | The Lakanal Law Nov. 17, 1794 |
| 1795 | Revolutionary Tribunal modified Dec. 1794 | | |
| | Resurgence of Royalism | Central Schools Feb. 25, 1795 | |
| | National Guards reconstituted to form a defence for the middle class | School of Living Oriental Languages March 30, 1795 | |
| | | Veterinary Schools April 21, 1795 | |
| | | Normal School of Paris closed May 6, 1795 | |
| | Little son of Louis XVI dies in prison June 10, 1795 | Course in Archaeology, National Library June 8, 1795 | |
| | Comte de Provence brother of Louis XVI, heir to the throne of France | | |

| DATES | POLITICAL EVENTS | CULTURAL EVENTS | LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS REGARDING EDUCATION |
|-----------|---|--|---|
| | | <p>Bureau of Longitude June 29, 1795</p> <p>Conservatory of Music August 3, 1795</p> <p>Constitution of the Year III Aug. 22, 1795</p> <p>The National Library Oct. 17, 1795</p> <p>Museum of Archaeological Monuments Oct. 20, 1795</p> <p>Schools of Public Services Oct. 22, 1795</p> | <p>Decree concerning the Organization of Public Education presented by Daunou Oct. 25, 1795</p> |
| 1795-1799 | <p>Directory to replace Committee of Public Safety</p> <p>Convention ended October 26, 1795</p> <p><u>The Directory</u> (Oct. 27, 1795-Dec. 24, 1799)</p> | | |
| 1799-1804 | The Consulate 1799-1804 | Napoleon transformed the Collège Louis Le Grand and created four military colleges 1800 | |

| DATES | POLITICAL EVENTS | CULTURAL EVENTS | LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS REGARDING EDUCATION |
|-------|---------------------------|---|--|
| 1804 | The French Empire 1804 | 1802-1804 Lycées, Special Schools, Secondary Schools, Private Schools established Concordat of Napoleon with the Pope Pius VII 1802 Superior Normal School 1808 | Napoleon's Law of 1802 regarding organ- ization of public instruction 1808 Imperial Decree creating University of France |
| 1815 | Downfall of Napoleon 1815 | | |

APPENDIX C

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

Academy of Sciences (French). It began as a private society, but was given a charter at the suggestion of Colbert in 1666. Sections were organized for the study of mathematics, physics and chemistry; pensions were given to members by the King, and money was provided for instruments. After the academy was reconstituted in 1699 practically every French scientist of note was a member. After being abolished in 1792 the academy was revived and reconstituted in 1812.

Baillage. Obsolete judicial division of France; revived in 1789 as an electoral unit.

Bastille. An old fortress which during the Old Regime had served as a prison for political offenders. Its fall signified the removal of a symbol of despotism.

Bourgeoisie. Corresponded to the middle class in France. These included professional men, such as magistrates, lawyers, physicians, and teachers, together with bankers, manufacturers, wholesale merchants and shopkeepers.

Cahiers de doléances. Grievance-lists, prepared at the time of the elections to the Estates-General in 1789. In these cahiers each order in each electoral district stated its grievances and recommended new policies to the king.

Canton. An electoral unit comprising in area about four square leagues, created in France by a law of December 22, 1789. Their admin-

istrative character was taken away by the consular constitution of December 1799. The canton, a seat of a justice of the peace, returned a member to the council of the department.

Commune. A union of the inhabitants of a limited area, whether urban or rural. Some communes thus comprise an urbanized center with the open country immediately surrounding it; others consist mainly of open land, with perhaps several small settlements. Communal government in France is by a mayor, his assistants and a municipal council although this characteristic organization has been altered in a few instances to meet the special requirements of large cities like Paris.

Committee of Public Safety. This Committee consisted of twelve members (later nine) appointed by the National Convention April 6, 1793, to deal with the domestic and foreign crisis which plagued France. They had at their disposal a large amount of money to be used for secret services; they could override the action of the Ministers; they deliberated secretly and they were accountable only to the Convention to which body they reported at stated intervals. This Committee governed France for two years and was considered an all-important institution which secured for the country salvation and victory.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, August 27, 1789. One of the most significant documents of the entire revolutionary period, it was, wrote Lord Acton, 'stronger than all the armies of Napoleon'. For a quarter of a century it was the watchword and the charter of all the reformers and revolutionists of Europe. Certain features of the declar-

ation merit special notice: its similarity to the American Declaration of Independence and its bourgeois character. Many of its principles were incorporated in the body of the French constitution of 1791.

Democracy. The term democracy is used in several different senses. (1) In its original meaning, it is a form of government where the right to make political decisions is exercised directly by the whole body of citizens, acting under procedures of majority rule. This is usually known as direct democracy. (2) It is a form of government where the citizens exercise the same right, not in person, but through representatives chosen by and responsible to them. This is known as representative democracy. (3) It is a form of government, usually a representative democracy, where the powers of the majority are exercised within a framework of constitutional restraints designed to guarantee the minority in the enjoyment of certain individual or collective rights, such as freedom of speech and religion. This is known as liberal or constitutional democracy. (4) Finally the word, democratic, is often used to characterize any political or social system which, regardless of whether or not the form is democratic in any of the first three senses, tends to minimize social and economic differences especially differences arising out of the unequal distribution of private property. This is known as social or economic democracy. To avoid misunderstandings, these various uses of the term should be carefully distinguished.

Department. By a decree of February 26, 1790, France was divided into eighty-three departments, in order to vitiate the localism of the former provinces and to lessen the possibility of the assumption of too much

power by any section of the country. These departments were to facilitate administration and the exercise of the franchise, and it is significant that they still remain the basic local units of France to this day.

Departmental Administration. Constituted thirty-six members elected by the people from the eligible citizens of all the districts of the departments. These members assembled at the chief town of the department and were considered a superior administrative assembly.

Directory. The third phase of the National Convention vested the executive authority in a Directory of five members who possessed most of the powers of the former Committee of Public Safety. The Directory assumed office October 27, 1795 and remained in power until dissolved by Napoleon in December 1799.

District. A subdivision of a department. A department could not have less than three districts or more than nine, depending on the number the National Assembly considered was most appropriate.

District Administration. At the chief town of every district there was a subordinate administrative assembly established under the title of 'district administration'.

Encyclopédie. A work in seventeen volumes which appeared from 1751-1772. It was a literary and philosophic enterprise that had profound political, social and intellectual effects. The purpose behind the great French Encyclopédie was to pool the best thinking of the best contemporary minds on a wide variety of subjects for the enlightenment of the public.

Resenting its tone of scepticism and revolt, the authorities clamped down on it and the last volumes were produced clandestinely.

Estates-General. An old feudal assembly representative of the clergy, nobility and commons of the whole of France. When the Monarchy had been weak they had often challenged its power: the triumph of the Monarchy under Richelieu had led to their disappearance. In 1789 they were summoned to appear at Versailles, the first meeting of the assembly since 1614.

Festivals. (National). See Appendix on Nationalism.

Girondists. A political party in the Legislative Assembly and the National Convention during the French Revolution. It derived its name from the fact that several of its leaders came from the department of the Gironde. Their main support was to be found outside of Paris in the provinces and country districts. They came to be regarded as special representatives of the middle class. Its members were for the most part, young, enthusiastic and eloquent who regarded a republic as the ideal form of government.

Jacobins. The most famous of the political clubs of the French Revolution, originating in 1789. From Versailles where it began it followed the National Assembly to Paris, where it rented the refectory of the monastery of the Jacobins in the Rue St. Honore, near the seat of the Assembly. The name "Jacobins", given in France to the Dominicans, because their first house in Paris was in the Rue St. Jacques, was first applied to the revolutionary club in ridicule. It was a wide-spread yet highly centralized organization and was most influential in Paris where it leaned for support on the turbulent populace. After the fall of the monarchy, Robespierre

was in effect the Jacobin Club; for to the tribunes he was the oracle of political wisdom and by his standards all others were judged. With his fall, the Jacobins too came to an end.

Jesuits. The Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola 1534 for the dual function of conquering new territory to the faith through missionary activity and of preserving the old through control of education. Solemnly consecrated by Pope Paul III in 1540, the congregation had a rapid growth. The Society played a conspicuous part in education during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the middle of the eighteenth century its members had become powerful and arrogant. They were charged with being involved in political intrigues and with refusing to change their instruction to meet new intellectual needs. Having been driven from many countries of western Europe the Order was ultimately abolished. However in 1814 it was allowed to re-establish.

Law of Suspects. This was a law passed during the Reign of Terror, September 1793, which allowed arrest and imprisonment of persons without any proof of guilt. Declared "suspect" was every noble, every officeholder before the Revolution, every person who had any dealings with an émigré, and every person who could not produce a certificate of citizenship.

Municipality. In France the commune is the unit of government for the municipality.

Municipal Administration. Local government of the communes of France, with the exception of Paris which has a special status.

Nationalism. A state or condition of mind characteristic of certain people with a homogeneous culture, living together in close association on a given territory, and sharing a belief in a distinctive existence and a common destiny.

National Institute of Arts and Sciences. Established in 1793 to replace former academies which had been abolished in 1793. The Institute was charged with collecting discoveries and with perfecting the arts and sciences. Its members were now drawn not from Paris alone, but from all parts of France and foreign associates were also elected. The plan appears to have been suggested by Talleyrand and Condorcet. In 1803 the Institute was reorganized.

Oratorians. A religious order, the Order of the Oratory, founded by Berulle in 1614 to promote secondary education.

Parlements. Superior courts in pre-revolutionary France, which constituted a limiting force on the Monarchy, although they could be overruled by the king. Royal edicts had to be registered in the parlements before they could become laws. The parlements (thirteen in all) of 1788 advocated the convocation of the Estates-General.

Republicanism. Connotes absence of monarchy in conjunction with some degree of avowed concern for the common welfare of the state and for public control on participation. The anti-monarchical idea constituted a major element in the French Revolution, when a temporary republic was created. It firmly established the republican idea and spread it throughout most of

western Europe. In the twentieth century the term 'democracy' tends to supplant the term 'republic' in describing governments free from arbitrary and imposed authority.

Restoration Government. The restored monarchy in France 1815, in the person of Louis XVIII, Comte de Provence (brother of the executed Louis XVI). Louis XVIII granted a charter, or constitution, modelled upon that of Great Britain.

Revolutionary Tribunal. Established by the Convention March 29, 1793, to deal, by a special procedure, with all those who were accused of hostility to the government. Rarely were persons acquitted by the Tribunal.

Sansculottes. A name applied to the radical faction in France. It derived its name from the long trousers (sansculottes) worn by many of the revolutionaries.

Thermidorian. Named after Thermidor (month of heat) July 19-August 17, used by the Terror Government in their new calendar. The final phase of the National Convention took office on July 29, 1795, thus deriving the name Thermidorian.

Tuilleries. The palace of medieval kings which was situated in Paris.

APPENDIX D

NATIONALISM AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

NATIONALISM AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

It is impossible to fix a date for the beginning of modern nationalism. Most authorities insist that nationalism as we know it began with the French Revolution. The minds of men had been prepared for the spirit of nationalism by the teaching of the Enlightenment in the 18th Century. The great apostle of modern nationalism was Jean Jacques Rousseau. He stressed the value of the moral unity of the masses, who are bound together in pursuit of a common purpose -- the good of the whole. Furthermore, he insisted that the community should be governed by laws issuing from the people themselves, and not from a divine-right monarch standing above the law. He emphasized the necessity of a supreme loyalty to la patrie (the fatherland), a duty so sacred as almost to become an article of religious faith. He decried any idea of fidelity to something higher, for instance, world society or the entire human race. In short, he sought to arouse the masses to a belief in a common heritage and a common destiny, claiming for men a status of democratic equalitarianism, and for nations a right of self-determination. It was for the men of 1789 to put these principles into practice, at least for a time.

At first professing absolute fidelity to the doctrines of popular sovereignty, individual liberty, social equality and fraternity, the Jacobins, under the stress of rebellion at home and attack from abroad, soon allowed the movement to deteriorate. Force and militarism took precedence over humanitarianism and fraternal love. The movement became fanatical. Soon there began to emerge those remarkable instrumentalities of nationalism which have been so widely employed ever since, notably by totalitarian dictatorship, but which have not been neglected by the most

advanced democracies. The concept of "nation in arms", universal conscription, emotional appeals for flag and country, the composition of a national anthem, the glorification of national heroes, the establishment of a system of public education grounded in the vernacular and dedicated to spreading revolutionary doctrines, insistence on the universal use of the French language, invention of a new kind of popular journalism and, finally the organization of impressive rituals in the form of national ceremonies -- all were employed as part of a vast scheme to create and intensify a national cult.

The doctrines of the revolution were professed to be universal -- not designed for Frenchmen alone -- but before long the Jacobins were thinking in terms of selfish national interest. They embarked on expansion and conquest. Nationalism, then as always feeds on war. As the sansculottes marched to do battle abroad, they took their doctrines with them, and they spread their nationalism much faster than their democracy. This was true even before the rise of Napoleon, but when the Little Corporal assumed power he greatly intensified the development already underway.

The metamorphosis of French nationalism after 1792, transformed as it was from a liberal, universalist movement into one marked by reaction and conquest, illustrates that nationalism is always a creature of environment subject to change. At times, it may not exceed the bounds of a healthy patriotism, at others it may be the cause or the result, or even both at once, of expansion and war.

APPENDIX E

GROWTH OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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The Seventeenth Century

Mathematics. Descartes (1596-1650) discovered analytic geometry and gave the final exposition of it in 1637. Descartes saw mathematics as a general science related to every quantitative phenomenon in the realm of matter and without which there could be no exactness in the physical sciences. Credit for the discovery of calculus is divided between Newton and Leibnitz. Both these men and Descartes are credited with completely revolutionizing the subject of mathematics. The chief difference between the ancient geometry and that of Descartes, lies in that the one required a procedure for every particular problem, while the other applied a general rule for all problems of the same kind. Another consequential step in mathematics at this time was the introduction of the decimal system.

Astronomy. This important science was greatly advanced during the seventeenth century, first by Galileo (1564-1642), and later by Newton. Galileo early accepted the Copernican theory and laid the basis for its proof. He improved the telescope which had just been invented and was the first to employ it to study the stars; this initiated a new era in astronomical science. In 1615, he attempted to convert the papal court to the new astronomy by upholding that the sun is immovable in the center of the universe and that the earth revolves daily on its axis. But he was condemned for heresy.

The Physical Sciences. Progress was far less rapid in the physical sciences. Stevin was the first since Archimedes to advance the study of

mechanics. Moreover, not only mechanics, but dynamics, statics, hydrostatics, and other forms of physical science were developed. About 1600, Galileo demonstrated from the leaning tower of Pisa that Aristotle's statement -- that bodies fall with velocities proportional to their weights -- was false. Gilbert (1540-1603) published (1600) his work on magnetism, which made possible the later study of electrical phenomena. The seventeenth century is characterized by careful experimentation. Harvey, Torricelli, Boyle and others engaged in genuine inductive research. Various instruments for exact measurement aided the progress of scientific knowledge, the thermometer (1597), the telescope, compound microscope, micrometer, thermoscope, barometer, air pump, the pendulum clock, all date from the first half of the seventeenth century.

Geography. The development of geography in the seventeenth century correlates with that of astronomy and history. A globe made by a German mariner in 1492 shows the world round, but he possessed as yet no knowledge of the existence of the American Continents or the Pacific Ocean. A century later, Mercator devoted his attention to mathematical geography. He made maps, globes and astronomical instruments. The first atlas was published by his son in 1595.

Medicine and the Biological Sciences. Down to the 16th century, Hippocrates and Galen continued to be the only authorities in the field of medical sciences. Vesalius (1514-1564) in the early half of the 16th century was the first to publish drawings of his dissections of the human anatomy. In 1616, Harvey, the English physician, discovered the circula-

tion of the blood. Medicine began to replace magic and mysticism, while scientists began to search for purely material causes of diseases.

Interrelation of mathematics, the physical sciences and the arts.

Mathematics and the sciences did not develop apart from one another. This intercorrelation stimulated the growth of each. The mathematics assisted in expanding knowledge of the physical world and its language became the precise method of scientific thought. What really contributed to the growth of higher mathematics was its relation to astronomy and medicine.

The application of mathematics to astronomy, which clearly revealed the true nature of the physical universe, found expression in Newton's Principia (1687). The integration of the mathematical thinking with sense observation, in the fields of astronomy and physics, was a most significant triumph of the human mind. A degree of certainty came into human experience, a feeling based not upon the personal experience of an individual, but upon the rational deduction of inevitable and universal laws. Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) was one of the first modern minds to understand the new method of science.

The Eighteenth Century

Astronomy. The discovery by Newton that all the movements of the heavenly bodies obey one simple physical law forms one of the great achievements in the history of science. Scarcely less important was the nebular hypothesis of the French astronomer Laplace (1749-1827), who conjectured that our own and other solar systems have been produced by the condensation of nebulous matter once diffused through space; in other words, that the nebulae were stages in the formation of stars. The further achievements of

eighteenth century astronomy include the discovery beyond Saturn of a new planet, Uranus, a more precise computation of the distance between the earth and the moon, and the proof that our solar system as a whole is moving toward a point in the constellation Hercules.

Physics. Various investigators at this time laid the foundation of modern physics, particularly in the departments of electricity and magnetism. Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), by his kite experiment, demonstrated that lightning is really an electrical phenomenon. The memory of the Italian Volta is perpetuated whenever a scientist refers to a "voltaic cell" or uses the term "volt". French scientists invented the balloon, thus beginning the conquest of air. The first successful ascents in balloons took place in Paris 1783.

Chemistry. Chemical research made rapid progress. Greek philosophers had taught that earth, air, water and fire comprise the original "elements" out of which everything else was made. The chemists now disproved this idea by decomposing water into the two gases hydrogen and oxygen. The Frenchman Lavoisier (1743-1794) also showed that fire is really a union of oxygen with earthly carbon. Until his time it had been supposed that objects burn because they contain a combustible substance known as "phlogiston". We further owe to Lavoisier the modern doctrine of the indestructibility of matter.

Biology. Eighteenth century explorers brought back to Europe from America and the Pacific many new species of animals and plants, thus greatly encouraging biological study. Here the most eminent name is that of the

Swede, Linnaeus (1707-1778), whose careful description and classification of plants established botany as a science. In medicine the introduction of vaccination as a preventive of smallpox marked the first step toward securing immunity by inoculation against certain dread diseases.

Learned Societies. Scientific investigations in previous times pursued by lonely thinkers, now began to be carried on systematically through the formation of many learned academies and societies, among them the noted French Academy of Sciences established at the suggestion of Colbert in 1666.

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